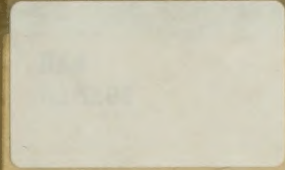


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THE BRITISH ACADEMY

# The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor

Some of its Causes and Effects

By

Sir William Mitchell Ramsay

Fellow of the Academy

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# THE INTERMIXTURE OF RACES IN ASIA MINOR: SOME OF ITS CAUSES AND EFFECTS

BY SIR WILLIAM MITCHELL RAMSAY

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

*Read* October 25, 1916

THE subject is far too large for adequate, or even for brief, discussion in an hour's paper; and therefore I put what I have to say under several loose and scattered headings.

## I. INTRODUCTORY

While the phenomena which form the subject of this paper stand in close relation to the facts and problems of the moment, yet it is not the writer's purpose to express opinions about such questions, but to attempt to describe historical and economic conditions; and if the facts as they present themselves suggest certain inferences, the drawing of the inferences is left to those who do me the honour to listen or hereafter to read. I write and speak as a student of history, who stands apart from practical administration, and avoids the appearance of intruding with advice on the attention of practical men.

In attempting to give some idea of the extreme diversity of races in Asia Minor, I shall not merely enumerate races and tribes, with a list of characteristics of each, but will rather attempt to trace the causes which have produced such complexity, and show the consequent difficulties which are interposed in any permanent settlement of the country, and finally will venture to suggest some considerations which may aid the investigation of an historical and economic problem. The causes are not much discussed in works on the history of Turkey, and the time and space at my disposal can most profitably be devoted to those aspects of the question which are least attended to in published books, but which have impressed themselves on me in the



experiences of nearly thirty-five years' travel, and forty years' study of the country.

A preliminary word about geography. Asia Minor, which may roughly be called Anatolia,<sup>1</sup> though the terms are not exactly co-extensive, is a level and lofty limestone plateau, protruding from the main Asian Continent towards Europe and the west. The Central Plateau is like a billiard table, level and surrounded by a higher rim of mountains, outside of which is low coast-land on north and west and south; the coasts touch the Black Sea north, the Aegean Sea west, and the Levant on the south. Of these mountain rims the most characteristic and the largest is Mt. Taurus on the south—a great and famous name in history. But Taurus, like the rest of the mountain rim on all sides, is really a lofty, broad plateau, very much broken by the action of water, in which deep cañons are formed by rivers. The Taurus Plateau is generally from 6,000 to 9,000 feet above sea-level (except where it is least significant, on the north of Pamphylia), and varies from 40 to 80 miles or more in breadth.

The Plateau of Asia Minor has been the highway of nations from time immemorial, and armies innumerable have swept across it, westward or eastward, in the ceaseless warfare that has been waged between Asia and Europe. The tribes of Central Asia, pressing outward towards the west, except in the few cases where they go north of the Caspian Sea, are inevitably forced to travel along the great bridge of the Anatolian peninsula, constrained on the north by the barriers of the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus Mountains, and the Black Sea. South-eastern European tribes have time after time pressed across the Hellespont or the Bosphorus into Asia, and marched in the contrary direction along the same roadway of the Plateau. Hardly any of these great armies has failed to leave behind it some part of its numbers, and occasionally one finds a single isolated village in some secluded position which seems to contain a fragment of lost population. One example may be quoted here. Geuzlar ('the Arches') is near the Ottoman railway and the great central trade route of the country,<sup>2</sup> and yet owing to the way in which lines of communication are interrupted by the great cañon of the Meander, it lies at its world's end, half-way down the cañon, and you cannot take it on the way to anywhere else. To reach it the traveller must turn his back on the rest of the world, and to leave it he must go back

<sup>1</sup> Anatolia does not include the Karamanian coast (south of Taurus), whereas Asia Minor does.

<sup>2</sup> The central trade route has been often described; the most detailed account is in the writer's *Roads and Travel in N. T. T.*, in Hastings's *Dict. Bib.*, v, pp. 375–402.

the way he came. In this remote position it became the refuge of a remnant of some ancient population which has left no other trace known to me in Asia Minor. The people are small in stature. I saw no one who seemed over about 5 ft. 4 in., whereas in general the Turks of Asia Minor are a tall and big-built race. The people of Geuzlar were, and perhaps still are, if they have not been exterminated, of well-marked and peculiar yet not unpleasing features, reminding me on the one hand of certain Japanese and Mongolian types and on the other hand of some Irish or Basque families that claim to go back to a very ancient population. They were, however, most suspicious and inhospitable. They did not love strangers and had no guest-house, which is a remarkable fact in Asia Minor. But this character is naturally found among villagers who desire to avoid all intercourse with the Sunni by whom they are surrounded. I have often stayed for a night in such heretic villages, yet never, except in this single case, did I stay for a night without hearing a word either of welcome or farewell, or without conversation with any inhabitant.<sup>1</sup>

This is an example of the anthropological and ethnological problems which await investigation in the country. Nor are historical problems lacking. Many Turkish villages bear the names of men famous in Turkish history, e.g. Karaman, Behram, Hadji-Bektash, Sinan-Pasha, Karadja-Ahmed, Seidi-Ghazi, Ilias, and scores of others. It carries one back to the early years of the Seldjuk conquest to find that Tangriperm, an obscure Seldjuk chief who figures in the pages of Anna Comnena, has left his name to a village on the east side of Kara-Dagh, six or seven hours north of Karaman. Some of those villages were the strongholds and estates of the men whose name they bear, as at the present day many nomad villages or summer-quarters (Yaila) are called after the chief or the proprietor; but others have only a legendary claim to their names, e.g. Seidi Ghazi was an Arab general who fell in the rout at Akroënos (Afium-Kara-Hissar) in 739, the first battle that cheered the reviving Byzantine power under the Iconoclast Emperors; his defeat and death made him, rather than any noted victor, the mythological impersonation of later Islam in its conquest of Asia Minor; through death and his grave in the country he established the right of Islam; in mythology he marries the Christian princess, who brings with her as dower the right of inheritance (passing according to the old religious custom in the female line); and his name is given to places which he never saw. But anthropology and mythology lie apart from the subject of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> *Impressions of Turkey*, pp. 56-60.



## II. IMMIGRANT RACES IN ANCIENT TIMES

About the time of Christ, Strabo mentions the complexity of the population and the puzzling way in which races were interlaced in Asia Minor, and he quotes a proverb about the difficulty of fixing limits between Phrygians and Lydians. Similar remarks would be made by any observant traveller at the present day. Races are interwoven with one another, and no bounds can be fixed. In one small glen, containing only a few scattered villages, one will find three or four different races, usually all Moslem, never intermarrying with one another, and often distinguishable by dress and custom. In one village all the women are veiled : a mile away is another where the women converse freely and openly with men.

The intermixture of races in Asia Minor during ancient times commonly meant real mixing of blood and stock through intermarriage. That is certain for the Greek and Roman period, and may be assumed with confidence at a still earlier time when direct evidence is not available. There was no feeling of caste and practically no pride in the natural superiority of one race to another,<sup>1</sup> in such strength as to forbid intermarriage. The conquerors who time after time took possession of the country appear to have taken wives from the native population. Even among the numerous Jewish colonists the same seems to have been to some extent true, as we know from the case of Timothy, whose father was a Greek, though his mother and grandmother were fervent believers in and teachers of the Jewish Scriptures within the family circle. In the case of the Jews this intermarriage was not likely to carry any moral advantage or add to their power of maintaining themselves and their religion.

There appear, however, to have been in the fourth century after Christ certain declassed peoples in Cappadocia, who preserved old pagan custom, and are therefore described with contempt and abhorrence by Eusebius and Basil.<sup>2</sup>

There can be no doubt that an enormously greater population existed in the country in the Byzantine period than at the present day. In travelling over the more sparsely populated parts of the

<sup>1</sup> The nearest approach to race feeling and race abhorrence in Roman literature is the hatred expressed for the barbarians of the north, Germans, Teutons, Getae, &c. Africans are less repellent to Roman feeling than the white races of the north. In Greece, pride of Hellenic race never prevented intermarriage.

<sup>2</sup> On these see the writer's *Pauline and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, pp. 377-380.



great Central Plateau, where the rare villages and encampments are far distant from one another, one goes hour after hour through an almost uninhabited country; yet even here the traces of one old village after another are found at short distances. A dense population like this does not admit the intrusion of alien elements, and it was only when this population was weakened and diminished that the Asiatic nomads were able to find entrance.

The diminution in the population is one of the most startling features in the contrast between ancient civilization and modern conditions. It implies a vast amount of suffering and probably a considerable amount of actual massacre. Whether it was preferable to be killed or starved is a problem which can best be settled by individual experience, but the total amount of suffering for the country and its people is tremendous. Under the Turkish Conquest this diminution must have come about very rapidly, yet there is no reason to think that the Seldjuk Conquest in 1071-4 was accompanied by any great amount of massacre. There was little fighting. The population submitted without striking a blow. It was entirely unused to war, which had been left to trained armies; and, when the main army was defeated at Mantzikert and there ensued a struggle between three claimants for the succession to the power and seat of the captured Emperor, it is plain that the occupation of a great part of Anatolia was accomplished without resistance on the part of the old Christian population. In fact, it is hardly possible to avoid inferring that a bargain was struck with the Seldjuk invaders by Nicephorus, one of the claimants to the Empire, who with the support which he thus purchased from the Turks was able to establish himself as the successor of Romanus Diogenes. The Byzantine historians do not allude to any such disgraceful bargain, but pass with a leap from the battle of Mantzikert to the complete domination of the Seldjuk Turks over the whole plateau. In one page we find the Turks fighting far away beyond the Tigris: in another they are ruling peacefully in Dorylaion and Nicæa, close to Constantinople; but how the conquest was effected is nowhere described or even alluded to.

The population of Anatolia is always changing through the centuries, owing to the immigration of tribes from the East. That has been the case throughout the time that has elapsed since the destruction of the Roman civilization and social system, and the same was the case before the Roman rule began. Under Roman government the established system was so strong and the population so dense as to resist this immigration, except in times when the Government was temporarily weak.

In a very large subject two examples may serve :

(1) A very considerable Persian population was introduced into Lydia, and probably also into Cappadocia and Pontus, in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The Persian population brought with them the worship of the goddess Anahita (or, in Greek form, Anaitis), whom they identified with the native goddess Artemis, regarding each as a mere form or variety of the other, and bringing together in a joint worship something that belonged to both goddesses along with the ritual of each. This Persian garrison-population undoubtedly gradually melted into the main body of the Lydian inhabitants in the course of centuries ; but the dedications to the goddess Artemis-Anaitis continued to mark the two sections of the united population by the name of the joint goddess. It is only through religious ritual that the double population can be traced in inscriptions.

(2) Much more interesting and infinitely more important, because more permanent and still at the present day constituting a great moral force in the country, is the establishment of a Jewish population in Asia Minor. It is not within our scope to mention the bigger question either of Jews in Turkey as a whole, or even of Jews in Asiatic Turkey generally : this study is restricted to Asia Minor, and specially to the Central Plateau. The immigration took place in two distinct ways, which must be carefully distinguished.

(a) A considerable Jewish population was brought into the country by the Greek kings between 300 and 150 B.C. Antiochus the Great by one act introduced 2,000 Jewish families into Phrygia and Lydia.<sup>1</sup> These Jews were sent from Babylonia, and therefore belong to the Ten Tribes who had been carried away into Mesopotamia and the country below it. Palestine also was equally subject to Antiochus ; but the Palestinian Jews were not so likely to be thoroughly loyal and trustworthy garrison-colonists in the service of Greek kings.<sup>2</sup> It is a general principle that the great garrison cities which were founded by these Greek kings ruling in Asia Minor were peopled to some extent either by Greeks, or by Jews, or by both. Those were the educated races of the time, and they introduced a spirit of self-management which was fostered to a certain degree by the kings in those colonial garrisons ; but the Jews were probably less democratic and more disciplined than the Greeks. These educated colonists, Greeks, Macedonians, and Jews, were privileged servants of the king, championing his cause against the natives by whom they were

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xii. 3, 4 (149).

<sup>2</sup> Yet Antiochus praises the Palestinian Jews' loyalty, *ibid.* 138 f. They also were used as colonists.



surrounded, inasmuch as their privileges depended on the stability of the royal rule.

Those Jews can be traced in history, especially in the Acts of the Apostles and, with some difficulty, through inscriptions, though in the latter case the fact that they almost all took Greek or Roman public names in addition to private Hebrew names<sup>1</sup> (which are rarely mentioned in the public inscriptions) causes great difficulty in identifying them as Hebrews. An important discovery, however, was made in 1914: we found an inscription showing that an official bearing only the Greek and Roman designation Aurelius Phrougianos, son of Menokritos, who filled many of the highest positions in Blaundos, and who had all the outward appearance of being an ordinary citizen, must have been a Jew, because he quoted the Book of Deuteronomy on his tombstone; and this discovery proves that a certain class of epitaphs, couched in similar forms but not actually quoting Deuteronomy, must all be regarded as Jewish.<sup>2</sup> Already in 1897 I expressed the suspicion that this whole class of epitaphs, which are markedly different in certain expressions from the general run of epitaphs, though following the usual lines of Phrygian custom, might probably be regarded as Jewish.<sup>3</sup>

In that whole region where those royal foundations of Jewish colonists were made, no single Jew now remains, though some trace of them survived as late as 1097 (see p. 9). The question is, what became of them? But, first, we must note the other class of Jewish residents in Asia Minor.

(b) Many other Jews came sporadically on private initiative during the Dispersion, and these were not confined to the colonies of the Seleucid kings, but were found in most or all of the great cities of Asia Minor. These were not citizens, but resident aliens, in the cities where they settled. The rights of citizenship were jealously guarded; and the remarkable feature of the Seleucid colonies is that the original Jewish settlers and their descendants enjoyed in them the citizenship, with special privileges in the way of concessions to their religion; but

<sup>1</sup> Gaius Valerius Andronicus Salamon, e.g., sometimes omits the Hebrew name, sometimes the Latin names. He is mentioned on coins of Sala on the frontier of Lydia and Phrygia somewhere about A.D. 130-65.

<sup>2</sup> The text is published and discussed in the writer's *Bearing of Recent Discovery on the New Testament*, p. 358 f. Deuteronomy is quoted in a way that has no regard to the meaning and original situation: 'the curses written in Deuteronomy,' i.e. chap. xxvii f., are invoked against violators of the tomb almost like a magical formula. There are no regulations there about preserving graves: this kind of law was not specially Jewish.

<sup>3</sup> *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. II, p. 652 f.

new Jewish settlers, even in those garrison-colonies, would rank only as resident aliens. This disability was more marked and inevitable in a city where no royal colony with citizenship was ever planted, whereas in the royal colonies the body of Jewish citizens would indirectly give strength to co-religionists who were merely resident aliens.

An idea of the large numbers of Jews in eastern Lydia and western Phrygia may be gathered from a statement of Cicero in his oration *pro Flacco* 28. 68. Flaccus had governed the province of Asia, which then included three western districts of Phrygia, viz. the governmental districts of Apameia, Laodiceia, and Synnada. It was in the districts of Apameia and Laodiceia, but especially the former, that the Jewish resident aliens and the Jews of the Seleucid colonies were most numerous. The Governor found that the quantity of gold which was being exported annually as tax to support the Temple in Jerusalem constituted a danger to the financial stability of that rich province. He therefore seized all the gold which was being exported, to the extent of 100 lb. weight of gold at Apameia, 20 lb. weight at Laodiceia, an unknown quantity at Adramyttion,<sup>1</sup> and a little at Pergamos. The amount seems so astonishing to M. Th. Reinach in his *Monnaies Juives*, p. 72 f., *note*, that he regards it as having been either the sum of several years' tax, or an extraordinary contribution; but there is no foundation for this view in the words of Cicero, and it seems unnecessary. The statement merely proves what was certain from other evidence, that there was in those regions a large Jewish population, and that it was most numerous in the great district which was grouped under Apameia. It is, however, not correct to suppose that the entire 100 lb. weight had been contributed by Jews resident in the city of Apameia, though M. Babelon, *Mélanges Numismatiques*, p. 169, takes this view and infers that the population of Apameia in the Roman time consisted in great part of Jews. That the Jews constituted a very important element in the population of that city is proved beyond doubt by other evidence,<sup>2</sup> but the gold which was seized there at the meeting-place of a *conventus* represents the contribution for one year's tax from all the cities in the district which looked to Apameia as administrative centre.

The old Jews of central Asia Minor and the south coast, i.e. the most completely Moslem regions, have disappeared. There is a Jewish population only in great centres of trade like 'Giaour

<sup>1</sup> The number is lost in the manuscript tradition: it was evidently not more than XX. That no gold was seized at other *conventus* does not prove that there were no Jews resident in those districts.

<sup>2</sup> *Cities and Bishopricks of Phrygia*, vol. II, chaps. XI and XVI.



Ismir" (Christian Smyrna) and the coasts near the Dardanelles and Constantinople, where Christians are numerous.

The latest references which I have observed to Jews resident in the central parts of Asia Minor are the following :

(1) In 1097 the first Crusaders advanced with a large army from Dorylaion in the direction of Konia. North or north-west of Augustopolis (at Surmene near Kara-Hissar) they passed through Hebraica (Ἑβραϊκὴ [κώμη] Anna C. xi. p. 251). It can hardly be doubted that this indicates a Hebrew settlement.

(2) There is an inscription now at Afium-Kara-Hissar, mentioning a Jew who emigrated from Kleisoura, near Philippopolis in Thraee, and settled at or near this city.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is perhaps of the early Byzantine time, but may be mediaeval, and I should personally be disposed to place it about the twelfth century, in which case it would be a witness to the very late survival of Jews in Phrygia.<sup>2</sup> The question is whether they survived there in the early Turkish period, and the previously mentioned fact is the only proof known to me. It is, however, certain that Byzantine historians mention Jews and Athingani with other heretic Christian sects as being very numerous in Phrygia during the ninth and tenth centuries ; and the virulent feeling implied in the words of those orthodox writers shows that the same harsh treatment was likely to be apportioned to the Jews as to the heretics. The heretics for the most part joined the Seldjuk Turks, who treated them better than the orthodox Emperors had done, and appear to have gradually joined the Moslem world.

Yet there are now no Jews in Phrygia or East Lydia, or generally on the Central Plateau or the south coast, except a few hundreds who have recently come for purpose of trade at commercial centres on the coast. The statistics, as given by Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, furnish sufficient proof.

Take another fact : Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, touched the extreme south-eastern coast, travelling from Korykos by Tarsus and Malmistras (the modern Missis) to Antioch of Syria. He mentions no Jews in these cities. Now the Jews of Cilicia were numerous and powerful under the Roman Empire, and we must

<sup>1</sup> The inscription has been carried, for Kara-Hissar is a modern city, containing stones brought from Dokimion, Prymnessos, Synnada, &c. This stone (which I saw in the Armenian cemetery) perhaps came from Synnada, the business centre of the Docimian marble trade.

<sup>2</sup> I would not mention this doubt, but a friend new to the country and the subject maintained, when he saw it, that it was quite modern. From every point of view that seems impossible.

conclude that Benjamin, who is careful to note the number of Jews in every city where he met them, saw no Jews in Cilicia.

Turkish statistics, rather suspicious, as given by Cuinet, mention 600 Jews exactly in the whole vilayet of Konia, 400 Jews precisely in the vilayet of Trebizond,<sup>1</sup> 478 in the vilayet of Angora, and none in Adana (i.e. Cilicia), Kastamouni, or Sivas. Numbers like 400 and 600 are obviously untrustworthy, except as evidence that there was a small number of Jews in the two vilayets at the time when Cuinet was compiling his statistics from Turkish sources. The same authority gives 400 Copts exactly in Konia vilayet, and 100 Protestants, and 15,000 Gypsies, but no foreigners, no Roman Catholics, and no Armenian Protestants. In all these cases it is evident that the statistics are guesswork, but probably all are approximately right. At the time to which the statistics refer, I knew personally foreigners, Armenian Protestants, and Roman Catholics resident in Konia, and I should have thought that there were more Roman Catholics than Protestants. But taking these cases as representing mere official guesses without proper enumeration, they roughly serve to show the numbers of the population, and they prove how completely the old Jewish population disappeared from this province. It happens that there are included in Konia province the ancient Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, Lystra, Attalia, and Perga, in all of which, as we know from the Acts of the Apostles, there were Jews, sometimes in considerable numbers, and exercising considerable influence in the cities, and from other sources we learn that in Pisidian Antioch the Jewish population was important.<sup>2</sup>

In the sequel of this paper we shall observe various striking examples of the way in which races are actually dying out in Anatolia; but a supposition like this cannot for a moment be entertained with regard to a people of such striking vitality as the Jews have always shown themselves to be.

These facts may be taken as specimens of the way in which the Jews of Asia Minor have diminished or disappeared. In European Turkey both Salonika and Constantinople contain considerable bodies of Jews. Those of Salonika are mainly of Spanish origin; certainly they are not so numerous as were the Jews of the ancient Thessalonica. The numerous Jews settled in Constantinople are partly Spanish, but largely Russian and other refugees more recent than the Spanish;

<sup>1</sup> Jews exist only in the coast towns of these two vilayets, being, as I think, modern trading immigrants, not survivors of the old population. At any rate, they are very few, even if old survivals.

<sup>2</sup> *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 235 ff.



and there is no reason to think that any appreciable number of Jews of ancient Asia Minor have settled in those two cities or in European Turkey as a whole.

I have suggested elsewhere that the privileges and influence enjoyed by the Jews in Phrygia and other parts of Asia Minor where the great colonies of the Seleucid kings were founded, were not conducive to their steadiness in maintaining their religious character and their separation from the pagans around them. We know that intermarriage with pagans was practised in some degree. As a general rule the principle is true that persecution was a more powerful influence to bind the nation together than high prosperity and privileges. The educated and thoughtful and most typical Jews may be swayed by purely ideal motives ; but the mass needed also external stimulus.

The late Dr. Neubauer, in his *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 315, quotes from the Talmud an expression which has probably some bearing on our subject, to the effect that ‘ The baths and wines of Phrygia<sup>1</sup> have separated the ten tribes from their brethren ’.

After several conversations with Dr. Neubauer, I attempted in 1897 to sum up the meaning of this passage from the Talmud in the following terms :<sup>2</sup>

‘ They lost connexion with their own land and people ; they forgot their language ; they did not participate in the philosophy and education of the Alexandrian Jews ; and they were much more readily converted to Christianity, which is what the Talmud calls their separation from their brethren. We may then take the marriage of the Jewess Eunice at Lystra to a Greek, and the exemption of her son Timotheus from the Mosaic Law, as typical of a relaxation of the exclusive Jewish standard in Lycaonia and Phrygia and an approximation to the pagan population around them.’

Now it has been pointed out that the Phrygian Jews who were citizens of the Seleucid garrison colonies probably were brought from Babylonia, and therefore were of the ten tribes, and in this expression of the Talmud we seem to gather an echo of the opinion which we have just been expressing, that enjoyment, luxury, and privilege were not conducive to the preservation of the distinct individuality and religious quality of the Jews in Phrygia.

It deserves note, although it cannot be treated as evidence, that

<sup>1</sup> Monsieur I. Levy maintains that the geographical name Aphrikia, used in the Talmud, does not mean Phrygia (as Neubauer asserts). Although I cannot presume to judge, I was not convinced by Levy’s reasoning ; and I am glad to find that some better judges are in the same position.

<sup>2</sup> *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. II, p. 674.

Cuinet<sup>1</sup> alludes to the markedly Jewish type of features of the Christian (i.e. Orthodox<sup>2</sup>) population in the vilayet of Konia, where they have survived chiefly at Konia itself and the neighbouring village Sille, more still on the south coast and in several small communities at Apollonia (Olu-Borlu), Sparta (officially spelt Isbarta, ancient Báris, accus. Bárida), Permata or Bermada near Ak-Sheher to the south-east. Elsewhere in Pisidia and the South Phrygian region they are chiefly modern immigrants. We noticed the Israelite type of features, and a sketch by Lady Ramsay, made about thirty years ago, shows a most typical Jewish figure—a khanji—bearing the name of Taniël; but this Daniel was Greek Orthodox.

These considerations suggest that to at least a certain extent the colonial Jews of Phrygia and Lydia may have melted into the general population of the Roman Empire, losing their distinctive character. This opinion was expressed by the writer many years ago, and no valid or positive argument against it has been found in the interval. There is only the general probability that the Jews were unlikely to deteriorate so far in energy as to permit themselves to be absorbed in the mass of the population. The positive arguments, scanty as they are, point to such a melting as a possible supposition; but against them the general argument from probability must be balanced, yet in doing so one must always remember that this general argument furnishes no answer to the question, what became of the Anatolian Jews and how did they disappear wholly from the Central Plateau?

The evidence of inscriptions and coins strongly suggests that the Jews of Phrygia accepted the Imperial religion (that is to say, the worship of the Emperors as incarnations of the Divine Power on earth) as a reasonable and useful political device, and that they acted as priests and priestesses in this cult. The way in which this deterioration in religious sentiment came about is suggested by such facts as the following. In Rome there were Synagogues Augustesioi and Agrippesioi.<sup>3</sup> These names doubtless originated in a special respect felt by the Jews for Augustus and Agrippa, but the use of such names marks in itself some slight deterioration from the true standard of Jewish feeling in religious matters. The Synagogue of the Libertines,

<sup>1</sup> *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. I, p. 809.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks restrict the name Christian to the Orthodox church: such is the old and still the popular custom.

<sup>3</sup> These forms are Grecized from Latin Augustenses and Agrippenses: see my *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 321. It is strange how much this elementary fact is neglected, and yet it is sometimes very important as proving that a Latin form is the original. Similarly Philippèsioi of the Colonia Philippi bear a name taken from Philippenses.



mentioned in the Book of Acts, does not imply such deterioration, because it merely expresses the fact that the members of the Synagogue were all freed men, but a Synagogue of Augustesioi implies that the congregation met as persons who felt special respect for Augustus. When such a declension once begins, it may only too easily degenerate into the condonation of the Imperial cult as a useful political arrangement, and certainly all pagans would accept the name Augustesioi as implying that a cult of Augustus was permitted by the Synagogue. This belief among the outer pagan world was certainly not founded on fact, but the mere existence of such a belief held universally among the pagans would inevitably tend to act as an influence in bringing about further degeneration. If we apply this to the case of the Phrygian Jews, who were so often of high standing and influence in the cities, and filled municipal offices and priesthoods in the Imperial cult after the fashion of other citizens, we see what is implied probably in the statement which is quoted from the Talmud.

Men who were influential in their cities, busied in the political career and in municipal office, rich and immersed in the same interests as the rather degenerate Greek or Roman population around, were not likely to be very strict adherents of the Law. Their epitaphs prove that they were conforming in sepulchral custom to Phrygian fashions. The reference to Deuteronomy (p. 7) mentions the curses of chap. xxvii-xxix more as a magical resource than with any regard to the real meaning and bearing of the original. Yet in those cities there were other Jews, not honoured citizens but mere aliens, not so tempted by prosperity and rank. The disappearance of the Jews may be explained by various hypotheses.

1. They might have left the country and emigrated to other countries after the Turkish Conquest in 1071, but this supposition may confidently be set aside (with one single exception, mentioned under No. 6), for Turkey and Turkish territory have always been a refuge for the Jews, and there was little temptation for them to go into other civilized countries (so-called).

2. They might have been massacred. This supposition may also be set aside, because there is not the slightest appearance that the early Seldjuk Sultans ever intentionally massacred any large section of their subjects.

3. They might have melted into the surrounding population.

4. They might have left the towns and villages to congregate in a few large cities, where business and financial operations attracted them.

Both the third and fourth alternatives deserve and call for serious

consideration. There was more business in the early Seldjuk time, and a larger number of cities were engaged in active trade, than was the case as the Ottoman Empire gradually exerted its benumbing influence, and trade and manufactures slowly died out from the country generally. Examples of this might be quoted from many parts of the country, but Ladik, the ancient Laodicea of Lycaonia, may serve to exemplify the general fact. There was a carpet-making industry here, which only ceased to be practised within the last century; and the carpets of Ladik are identified in the trade by a special mark, viz. a jug. It is now many years since any carpet was made there. The Jews may be supposed to have abandoned dying cities of this kind, and it is certain that in Asia Minor they practically disappeared, except in Smyrna, and on the Asiatic coast of the Bosphorus, the Gulf of Ismid, the coast of the Sea of Marmora and of the Hellespont. In Smyrna the Turkish statistics give a Jewish population of 22,500, and along the coasts from the Hellespont to the Bosphorus a Jewish population of 13,500; but there can be no doubt that a large number of these Jews have settled there, taking refuge in mediæval and modern time from persecution in other countries. Especially in Smyrna the Jewish population are very largely Spanish refugees, speaking Spanish as their home language. They came when the Jews were expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in the fifteenth century. It is stated by some good authorities that there are in Smyrna, besides the Spanish Jews, a certain number of the old Jewish population of pre-Turkish time, but at least it is admitted that this number is extremely small, and entirely fails to show what has become of the Jews of Asia Minor. They certainly do not represent in numbers even the old Smyrniot Jews, much less the entire Jewish population of Anatolia.

Considerable space has been devoted to stating the problems connected with this people, not because the writer has the qualifications that are required for the satisfactory solution, but simply because the problems force themselves on the attention of any student, and I hope in my turn to force them on the attention of those who are better qualified.<sup>1</sup>

5. While the colonial privileged Jews may have partly melted into the general population, the aliens and some of the privileged Jews who were steadfast found themselves in a different position under the Christian Byzantine Empire. They are mentioned, along with the

<sup>1</sup> I am much indebted to Dr. Gaster and Lieutenant Professor W. M. Calder for criticism.



many Christian heretics of the same regions, by Byzantine historians in terms of hatred and contempt ; and like some of the Protestant sects they probably emigrated by degrees to external countries like Russia and Arabia, fleeing from Imperial persecution and scorn. Yet still a number of the Protestants and of the Jews survived in Anatolia into the Turkish period. Did any of the latter, like the former, conform to Islam ? It is well known that a sect of Jews exists in Salonika who conformed to Islam. On the other hand I have seen Jewish boys eating bacon there, and was told in reply to a wondering question, that their parents had no objection to this. The same was the case in Bucharest.

6. The suspicion may be expressed that some of the Anatolian Jews returned to settle in the Holy Land. No proof is known to me, but the general tendency towards this return has always existed ; and at the present day it is becoming more accentuated than formerly, and is also taking its place as a conscious force in the world of politics, and, if I may venture to express a personal opinion, it deserves also to take its place in the world of statesmanship. It is an event which will ultimately come about, and the strong, growing feeling in its favour establishes a probability that it may be one of the most important and far-reaching results of the Great War. This is stated as an historical forecast based on the past and present conditions of the country and the peoples concerned.

The length of this statement about one people, and that people numerically not very great, though morally and intellectually important, shows how impossible it is to bring within the limits of this paper a satisfactory inquiry into the history of any one among the numerous Anatolian peoples. Evidence has rarely been collected, and it is necessary to begin by collecting it. Moreover, the evidence is growing in bulk year by year ; here one fact, there another, is discovered, and each throws light on the other and on previously known facts.

I would add here a suggestion which was made to me by Dr. Gaster. He reminded me of the very large size of the Jewish cemetery at Smyrna, and of the importance of having a collection made of the epitaphs. Such a collection would be an historical study of the highest importance in this question, provided it were carried out by a competent, highly trained scholar, who could decipher in a trustworthy fashion the difficult letters of the earliest and most worn inscriptions, and should be able to form a gradual classification according to age. Dr. Gaster spoke of the difficulty of inducing local residents to undertake such a work, but it is not possible for members of the ordinary

population to perform satisfactorily such a difficult task. To undertake such a large work of so difficult a character requires a special commission, preferably of two scholars working in co-operation, and bringing independent judgement and eyes to bear on every difficult stone. It may confidently be expected that historical results of high importance would be brought about by a mission of this kind to the great Jewish centres. At the same time, it must be remembered that in the Roman period no trace has ever been found of epitaphs in the Hebrew alphabet or speech. At what date Hebrew was re-introduced in Jewish epitaphs of places like Smyrna requires to be investigated, and the fixing of such a detail as this would in itself be a fact of real importance. The entire subject calls for scientific treatment on a reasonable plan, and will reward such treatment; but of course command of sufficient amount of money is the basis on which all work of this kind must rest. It is impossible to surmount the many and varied difficulties that meet any explorer, without the power of spending money, even with the advantages that a Jew would have among Jews. The difficulties that are thrown in the way of any explorer are manifold, and often entail unexpected expenditure. The present writer lost years of work, and was hampered and restricted in many other years, by inadequate resources. The old English idea that an explorer needs only a notebook and pencil and his daily bread is still widely dominant even in scholarly circles, and almost universal in the non-scholarly world.

### III. SURVIVAL OF ANCIENT RACES AND ANCIENT CUSTOM OR LAW

The question is often asked whether it is possible to identify remnants of ancient peoples, whether for example in Galatia, any traces of the Gauls who conquered the country in the third century B.C. can be detected. A Scotsman who was Consul in Angora in 1881, where he did business as a merchant in the produce of the country, maintained that he had observed traces of Gaulish character, especially in the red colour of the hair, which was not uncommon, and in the mental and moral character. But such arguments are fanciful, and far from trustworthy, and for my own part I have seen no Gauls in Galatia, but many Turks, Kurds, and Turkmens. The one ancient people which I have thought recognizable is what may be called the ground stock of the Anatolian population. The Turks of the Central Plateau have varied distinctly from the Turkish Asiatic type, and have approximated to a different type, which I should be disposed to recognize as the old Anatolian. This is a large and vague subject;



I would give only one definite example. At Ivriz, at the head of a deep glen in the Taurus mountains, where Cappadocia and Lycaonia meet, there is a famous monument, beside a series of great springs which flow forth from the mountain. The monument represents the king or priest or priest-king adoring the present god. The god is a figure of vast size, about 15 ft. in height, dressed in the garb of a peasant. He is the Saviour God, the working God, who by his toil benefits and brings salvation to men. You take a guide at random from the nearest village, close to the mountain, and you are struck with the fact that, except in headdress, he shows a very remarkable similarity to the god—the same features, physique, and dress. The one and the other, the peasant and the god, are embodiments of the toiler who makes prosperity for the country, brings the gift of food, and constitutes the basis on which the happiness of the country rests.

This racial fact that the Turk has melted into the old Anatolian stock has struck every observant traveller whom I have met. We shall have to recur to this in section IV.

A very interesting field is that of investigation, or rather of speculation, with regard to the survival of ancient ritual and pre-Christian paganism. A good deal has been written or said on this subject, but the evidence is peculiarly difficult to observe, owing to the secretive-ness and suspicious character of all those obscure fragments of population who differ from the commoner religious types. So far as I can judge, those who express most confident opinions on the subject are not those who have had the best opportunities of investigating.

Tribes or communities which come under this category are (1) the Ansariyeh in Cilicia, who have come thither from Syria and are almost exclusively occupied as gardeners. The romantic picture of the Syrian Ansariyeh which Disraeli has drawn in *Tancred* is well known: he works up a widespread view. (2) The Takhtadji, who have no tribal name known to the outer world, but are denominated from their occupation, which is always that of wood-cutters<sup>1</sup>. These are widely scattered over the country, and have been frequently the subject of recent discussion. (3) The Yezidi, or Devil-worshippers, who have been severely persecuted and massacred in comparatively recent years, are found in small groups in the Euphrates valley and further east. (4) The Yuruks—according to some writers: personally I regard them as modern immigrants from inner Asia.

To take the most important of these Anatolian communities, the Takhtadji, the opinion has been freely expressed by anthropological observers that they are a survival of some ancient pagan sect. It is

<sup>1</sup> A German view regards them as *dendrophoroi* of Cybele.

quite certain that, although they wear some superficial appearance of Islam, they are not really Mohammedan in faith; and they are regarded with supreme contempt by all Moslems. But this difference has thrown them back on themselves, and made them so suspicious that it is almost impossible to learn anything about their beliefs or rites. A friend, who belongs to one of the old Dutch families of the Levant, and who was brought up from childhood on a large estate about thirty miles south of Smyrna—the property of his family for generations—lived in boyhood in familiar intercourse with a village of Takhtadji on this estate. One boy in particular was attached to him as a sort of attendant and companion from childhood. They grew up together: they played and hunted in company. As my friend became interested in anthropological and ethnological investigation, he was eager to find out something of the character of the rites and beliefs that were held in this village; but though this special companion talked on every other subject freely, he would never utter a word if the conversation turned towards religion or custom, or ritual or belief, and from this woodman my friend never could learn anything. His own observation, however, showed that on certain occasions the entire village gathered at the cemetery during the night, to perform some sort of duty, apparently of a religious character, at which it was forbidden and impossible for any stranger to be present. Such a ceremony seems wholly inconsistent with Islam, and stories are told of hideous rites which are performed on the occasion; but similar stories are extremely apt to grow in popular report with regard to proscribed or unpopular religions. Exactly the same sort of tale was told about the early Christian meetings, which were secret, not from any need or desire for secrecy, but simply because meeting was forbidden and unsafe. At the present day it is well known that certain enthusiastic rites in the way of devotion to the person of the Prophet Mohammed have become common among orthodox Moslems: these rites occur mainly at night: in them the Asiatic tendency towards enthusiastic religious ritual finds a satisfaction and an outlet which the ordinary services of prayer do not afford. The fact of meeting at night, therefore, proves nothing; but the choice of a cemetery for meeting-place is more significant, and takes us back to the early Anatolian custom and belief about the sacredness of graves. My friend also knew that there was a sort of religious head of the sect, who was believed to have a home somewhere in the Adana Vilayet (that is to say, Cilicia or the mountain region to the north or west of it), and this ‘high priest’ was wont from time to time to make a progress through the villages of his people. When



he came to a village and entered into any house, he was for his stay the master and owner of the house, not according to the mere polite fiction of oriental hospitality, but in the fullest sense. The master and father of the family disappeared for the time, and the religious chief took his place in all respects. There is here a certain resemblance to the ancient religious idea that the god in the old pagan religion of Anatolia was the absolute lord and master of his people, and that the priest is the representative of the god on earth, a resemblance involving a process of degeneration and degradation which is likely to occur. But it is not safe to lay too much stress on this resemblance. Degeneration takes strange forms, and brings about generic resemblances due more to human nature in its decay than to positive survival of religious custom : it is beyond doubt that the Takhtadji are a race in degeneration.

Undoubtedly there is a strong temptation to carry much further this line of hypothesis, and several modern writers have done so, but the evidence seems to me insufficient. It does not strengthen my belief in theories stated by learned authorities when I find that one traveller who has carried this line of thought rather far did not speak Turkish, but was dependent on information derived from a Greek servant, and still less when I employed this servant for some weeks and observed how fanciful were his accounts of customs practised by the Moslems : the fact was that he knew little and imagined much. Nor was my confidence increased, to take another example of a very high anthropological authority, who has written a delightful description of Yuruk social customs, when the late Professor H. Kiepert pointed out a quaint error in the map accompanying these observations, a map drawn by himself and incorporating the observations of that distinguished and respected scholar. There was a mountain which bore the name ' Black-Mountain-they-call-it '.<sup>1</sup> It was obvious that some native, when asked the name of the mountain, had replied ' Black Mountain they call it ', the common way of speaking, and that the whole sentence was put down as the name of the mountain. The name ' Black Mountain ' is so common in the Turkish country, that you are rarely out of sight of some Black Mount. Such an example of unfamiliarity with Turkish conversation weakens one's confidence in the account given by the same authority of the quaint marriage customs of the Yuruks.

From the historical point of view there are interesting survivals of

<sup>1</sup> The map was published with this name in a Preliminary Report ; but Kiepert deleted it from the map in the final publication.

pre-Moslem religions, clad in Moslem appearance. In the Hermus valley, a little north of Sardis, there are several villages through which the traveller might readily pass without noticing that the inhabitants are not ordinary Osmanli; but various subtle differences are found by those who have the opportunity of looking beneath the surface. While the men are all called by Mohammedan names, the names of the women are Christian. Marriage is indissoluble, and Moslem freedom of divorce is absolutely proscribed and unknown. Wine is made and used freely. These are all sure signs of Orthodox character. Priests of a sort exist, and wear a black head-dress, which is characteristic of Greek priests and unknown in Mohammedan usage. It is not open to doubt that there remain in these villages some remnants of the old Christian population of the Hermus valley, which was able to preserve itself by a partial conversion to Mohammedanism in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and yet did not wholly abandon its older social customs.

This example suggests that the melting of the old Christian inhabitants into the Osmanli or Turk population was one that occurred gradually, and not by instantaneous conversion. In the eastern parts of Asia Minor similar small groups have been observed. It cannot be doubted that in these cases you have remnants of the Christian population who sought to preserve themselves and to avoid danger by a pretended conformity to Mohammedanism.

In the same valley as Sardis, not many miles further up, the city of Philadelphia maintained itself as a Christian city, independent alike of Greek Emperors and Turkish Sultans, and surrounded by a Moslem population, until 1379-90, when it yielded to a combined attack made by the Byzantine and the Turkish armies. These people of Philadelphia welcomed the German crusading army of Barbarossa in the year 1185, and the same army was also welcomed at Laodiceia in the Lycus valley by a Christian population. In the years that followed these showed much more craven spirit. The Laodicean Christians disappeared entirely, and for centuries there was no Christian inhabitant left in the valley, except in the single village of Khonas, which stands high above Colossae on the steep side of Mount Cadmus. In that sort of secluded position fragments of an older population find refuge (p. 356). When the railway began to feel its way up to the Lycus valley, it was preceded by Christians, who served as agents to extend the trading connexion with the line, and it was followed by a regular influx of Christian population almost entirely Greek, who have kept pace with the railways that radiated from Smyrna.



Such villagers stand in a totally different category from those many Christian communities which adopted Mohammedanism completely. These became fanatically Moslem: e. g. the feeling between the Pomaks, or Moslem Bulgarians, and the Christian Bulgarians was extremely bitter. The same was the case in Crete, yet the Cretan Moslems were obviously of Greek origin. Their physique was typically Greek; they used the Greek language; and, when large numbers of them settled in Asiatic Anatolia amid purely Mohammedan surroundings, they felt that they were among an alien race, and quickly died out (see section VI).

These few examples may serve to illustrate the survival of ancient racial elements in Asiatic Turkey, but a much more important, and to the present writer more interesting, subject is the survival of ancient customs and laws in Turkish society, which has long engaged attention. On this subject something may be found in the writer's *Impressions of Turkey*, ch. xi.

Instead of repeating the examples given in that book, I may refer back to the striking case quoted in section II, where it is mentioned that old Turkish legend sought to legitimize the possession of Asia Minor by creating a hero of the Conquest, who by marriage to a Christian Princess became possessed of her right of inheritance. One is struck with numberless examples of this belief among the Turks, that mere military conquest does not convey full right of possession. The religious feeling is never completely eliminated, though it lies so deep as to express itself only in mythology and folk-lore, that the old race and the old religion are the rightful possessors. For example, in Thyatira, the modern Ak-Hissar, there is a round mosque, which is a converted Christian Church, and on the top there stands a cross. When my wife drew the attention of the Imam to this cross, he explained that the building could not survive unless the cross were kept there, and he showed us inside the mosque a short column of marble, supporting nothing, which as he declared always wept when a Christian entered the mosque. Similar beliefs have been observed in Konia, Constantinople, Damascus, &c.

Most important of all is the sphere of Law. The Turkish Conquest of Constantinople was really the climax of a gradual orientalizing of the Byzantine Empire. Isaurians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, and Armenians reigned in Constantinople on the throne of the Roman Caesars, and the final stage occurred when a Turkish Sultan sat on the same throne. It was not uncharacteristic that in the ninth century the most intimate friend of the Emperor Theophilus was a Turk named Theophobos.

About the years 1890-5 a land scheme was carried out in the neighbourhood of Smyrna which proved to be highly beneficial. There was a large amount of waste land all round the valley. Some of the European residents recalled the principle of Turkish law or custom that unused land lapses to the common good, and that private property in such land ceases; and they induced the governor of the province to promise possession to squatters, who should engage to plant vineyards or otherwise use the soil, and to guarantee permanent possession to the worker of the land so long as he was making full use of it. The result was a great extension of production in the valley and on the fields around, almost wholly by Greeks. Whether this principle is special to Turkish law or is common to all Moslem sacred law I do not know. It concerns our subject as one of the most ancient features of western Asian religion and custom. It springs from the old religious idea that the land belongs to the goddess and that the people are her slaves, bound to make use of the land, which is holy. There can be no human ownership in land, for as the Hebrew law often says, 'The earth is the Lord's'. The earth herself was the supreme goddess, and the divine nature cannot be the property of man, but the land stands in need of human work in order to be useful. There is therefore conjoined with the idea of ownership by the goddess of her own self the other idea that he who is making the land useful is co-operating with the supreme goddess as ultimate owner, and therefore he has the right of possession which continues so long as the co-partnership lasts.

Such ideas as nationalization of the land or peasant proprietorship had no place in this system, but instead there existed security of tenure for the cultivator, and this was the basis on which the improvement of the land and the subjugation of the soil for the benefit of the family of the cultivator rested.

They gathered out the stones, they stored the water that fell from heaven, the gift of the god, or brought it in artificial channels from some bountiful fountain, which also was recognized as the gift of the god. Under the divine teaching they sowed corn and improved the species. They planted trees which would not begin to be useful until a considerable number of years had elapsed. They fenced their gardens round to keep out marauding animals. Thus they transformed the Mediterranean lands from their naturally rather sterile condition into a great series of gardens and orchards that surrounded the central sea.

This system of divine ownership presupposes the state of peace, and looks forward to a continuance of peace, so that the cultivator



can expect to reap many years afterwards the fruit of his toil—but with a state of war comes uncertainty of tenure. The prosperity of Asia Minor depended upon peace and diminished or, in parts, disappeared entirely, when war disturbed the conditions of society.

With war begins the era of estates on a large scale belonging to private proprietors; the conquerors divided among themselves a certain proportion of the land they had won. Especially the king, by a sort of religious fiction identified with the god, was regarded and worshipped by the population as an incarnation of the divine nature, and through this fiction became the lord of the land and, to a certain extent, of the cultivators who were necessary for using the land. The soldier-landlord must provide for working the estate: he borrowed the needed money from the central temple, which he rarely, if ever, disturbed, because it was dangerous to interfere with the gods whose power was supreme in the country. He had to worship and respect them in order to be able to live in the land. Even the modern Moslem respects the sanctuaries and festivals which he found among the Christian population when he conquered the land.

#### IV. TURK AND TURKMEN

Many of the distinctions about which we speak are not recognized in government statistics, and the diverse races are summed up as Moslems or as Osmanli (on which title there is more to say in the sequel). This is the case with the distinction between Turkmen and Turk.

One of the first impressions made on the traveller when he leaves the railways and cities, and goes out over the Central Plateau, is the difference between two classes of population, who are called in ordinary expression Turks and Turkmen. The population of towns and generally of the settled villages consists of Turks, or, as they call themselves, Osmanli; and the distinction between them and the Turkmen is clearly marked. The Turkmen tribes used to claim ostentatiously to be and to be styled 'Turkmen', and repudiated the name 'Turk' while the Osmanli would have regarded it as an insult to be called 'Turkmen'. Formerly the usual account of this difference was that the Turks represent the tribes who overran Asia Minor in the years immediately following the great battle of Mantzikert in A.D. 1071 (which laid the whole country prostrate before the invaders from Central Asia), whereas the Turkmen belong to various successive waves of immigration which came in from Central Asia during the following centuries. On the other hand, an explanation which has

been favoured recently is that the Turkish population is the native Anatolian population Moslemized, while the Turkmen tribes are left unexplained, and it seems to be assumed that they are the conquering race.

Although these explanations both contain some element of truth, they are both insufficient, because they take no note of the fact that the difference goes back to the earliest years after the Turkish Conquest.<sup>1</sup> Nicetas and Cinnamus describe the 'Turkmens' or 'Nomads' as already a familiar element in the population as early as the middle of the twelfth century, and Anna Comnena alludes to them in the very beginning of that century. Anna calls them 'Turcomans': Cinnamus calls them Nomads and Persians.<sup>2</sup> Nicetas describes them as a pastoral people, who swarmed in numbers near and across the frontiers of the Romans, seeking suitable pasturage for their flocks. At this time (1100-70) it is clear that they had overflowed like a flood the entire plains of the Central Plateau; and in truth they were a flood which drowned out the old population, and destroyed the Roman civilization outside the walls of the great cities. The Nomads were in a sense the conquerors of Anatolia, for they reduced the country from the agricultural to the nomadic stage.

It is impossible to explain the presence of the Turkmens as due solely to inroads of later population from Asia, though doubtless such immigration continued at intervals for centuries, as will be shown in the sequel. They came with the armies which conquered the Romans, and within forty years of the day when the first Turkish army appeared in the country they are spoken of by historians as a marked and important element in the population on the west and north-west Turkish frontiers, not very far from the Bosphorus and the Aegean Sea. The difference of Turk and Turkmen was quite as apparent between 1100 and 1120 as it is at the present day, and the Byzantine accounts are very similar to what a modern traveller would give, although they are briefer and neglect many traits on which a modern traveller would dwell. The Byzantine historians were not interested in ethnological or anthropological observations, on which the modern traveller would insist as most important.

The Turkmens extend widely over Anatolia. They are found as far west as the Phrygian hill country called Turkmen-Dagh, south of Dorylaion (Eski-Sheher), and the valley called Turkmen-Ova (Campus

<sup>1</sup> Some of the passages are quoted in *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> The Byzantine forms *Τουρκόμανοι* (or *-ννοί*) and *Ὀθωμανοί* gave rise to the false forms *Turcoman* and *Ottoman*. Chalcocondylas has *Ὀρομανίδαι*.



Metropolitanus), a long valley north-east from the Ottoman railway and the old city of Apameia, traversed by the great central highway of the Roman Empire and the great trade route of the early Turkish period. But the principal haunt of the Turkmen tribes (Asheret) is in the level plains around the great salt lake in the centre of the country and in the eastern Taurus mountains. The Ramazan-Oglu Turkmens of the Eastern Taurus overran and partially conquered the Cilician plains by the sea centuries before the Turkish power crossed the Taurus to enter Cilicia: they dominated that province or fought for power in it against the kings of Lesser Armenia and the Memlucs from Egypt and even the scanty remnants of the Byzantine power, all of which were striving side by side to gain the upper hand in the fertile plains by the sea. The power of the Ramazan-Oglu was quite independent of the Seldjuk Sultans of Roum with their capital at Konia, and it began before the Ottoman or Osmanli Turks had ever been heard of. This was the one case in which the Turkmens seemed about to constitute something in the shape of definite political organization.

In none of the regions in which they now are found was the population ever purely Turkmen. At the present day there dwell side by side with them Yuruks, Turks, Kurds, Armenians, &c., not to mention smaller groups of population in the towns. In the valley called Turkmen-Ova the villages now, for the most part, claim the title 'Osmanli', but some are or were recently Yuruk, and there can be no doubt that villages which are now called Osmanli were formerly Turkmen, and the process whereby the Turkmen is transformed into the Turk through settlement and change of feeling is instructive: it has been going on before the traveller's eyes in the last thirty or forty years, and is typical of a slower process that has been going on through the centuries.

There has never been any real affection between the Turks and the Turkmens, but rather a slight though distinct feeling of hostility; and for centuries even the west Turkmen tribes (Asheret) maintained themselves practically in independence of the Ottoman Government, paying no taxes, treating great officials almost on terms of equality, and not serving as soldiers in foreign countries. The Turkmens were an unruly and even a dangerous element in the country. Peaceful merchants did not venture to travel along the roads except in large caravans, which had to be always on their guard against attack from the Nomads. The Seldjuk Sultans in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries attempted to protect the great lines of communication by means of splendid khans. These khans are places of large size and

military strength, built for defence with loop-holed walls of great thickness ; and they could easily be maintained against the attacks of large bands of Nomad assailants.

A German traveller has laid emphasis on the character of these great Seldjuk khans, as a proof of the high standard of civilization which characterized the Seldjuk Empire of Roum ; but that proof depends upon what is meant by civilization. They indeed possess a stateliness and architectural dignity and beauty which are extremely impressive.<sup>1</sup> Generally they stand alone in a desert, with only a few wretched hovels of the modern remnant of population in the neighbourhood, or even absolutely solitary with no habitation for miles around, and they thus rightly give the impression that they belong to a far higher standard of civilization than the modern. In the realm of art they are eminent ; but they do not prove that peace or order or good organization characterized the Seldjuk rule. They are really fortresses in a dangerous country. As a rule they were not centres of population, but stood out like fortified islands in the great sea of the nomad wilderness. They attest the weakness rather than the strength of Seldjuk power. The Seldjuk Turkish Sultans had no footing in the desert, except within the walls of those fortified refuges. The Turkmen was the enemy of the Seldjuk Turk, just as later he was hostile to the Osmanli Sultans : rarely indeed an active enemy, but a proud and unruly and almost alien element in a very loosely organized Empire.

Now we come to the question, What is the cause of the difference between Turks and Turkmen ? In other words, who and what is the Turkish people as distinguished from the Turkmen tribes ? There can be no doubt that the Turkmen are much closer in character to the original Turkish invaders of the country, for they are more distinctly Asiatic in physical type and in occupation. It was such as they that mainly were instrumental in destroying the army of Romanus Diogenes in 1071, and they occupied the country as a whole. They are nearer to the Mongol type than are the Turks. They are a tall, powerfully built race, as is natural in men who are nourished mainly on the milk of a limestone plateau. Changes have been produced by the settling influence of political and administrative circumstances during the last century and mainly the second half of the century,

<sup>1</sup> The largest and most splendid of the Seldjuk khans was Sultan Khan, twenty hours north-east of Konia, which was being rapidly destroyed in 1912 to furnish materials for a new Government House at Ak-Serai. The most easily accessible in a decent state of preservation is Zazadin-Khan, half-ruined, four hours north-east from Konia. On the former, see Sarre, *Reise in Anatolien*.



but they still remain a well-marked and distinctive type. The Turks of the towns and villages, however, approximate in type more to a European population. They are and have always been peaceful, and are easily governed by a firm and fair administration of law, and they are even willing to submit to a degree of unfair treatment which would drive to fury or despair most European peoples.

The following hypothesis may serve to explain in part the origin of the distinction between Turk and Turkmen. The Turkish population is not pure Turk, it represents a mixed race, springing from the union between a section of the Asiatic conquerors and the old population of Anatolia; and it is probably more truly Anatolian than Turk. It consists really of two different, and yet not practically distinguishable, classes, (1) the offspring of Turkish conquerors marrying women of the old population, and (2) a large number of the old Anatolian population who adopted Mohammedanism.

It is recorded by historians, especially by Nicetas, that many of the heretic Christians<sup>1</sup> of Anatolia actually preferred the domination of the Turkish Sultans of Konia to the rule of the Byzantine Emperors. As heretics, they had been harshly treated and contemptuously regarded by the Orthodox Government, and they welcomed the Seldjuks as deliverers from a sort of bondage. They threw in their lot with the conquerors, resisting the attack of John Comnenus, helped them, and gradually adopted their language. These are the facts of the case, and the hypothesis is forced on us almost inevitably that with few exceptions the old heretic population, which was so numerous in Phrygia and Lycaonia, gradually adopted also the religion of the conquering people. There was every temptation to do this. They did not belong to the Orthodox Church, but were rejected and despised by it. Now the Orthodox Church still continued to exist with considerable privileges under the Seldjuk rule. The heretics could not find a home among the Christians, and gradually they acquiesced in the faith of Islam. They were Protestants, and there is always much greater community of feeling, based on similarity of type in ritual, between Protestants and Moslems, than can possibly exist between Orthodox and Moslems. In fact, it has always seemed to me that in origin the faith of Islam springs from the influence exerted by refugee Christian heretics on the thought and conduct of Arabs. The great founder of Islam was the person through whom this influence found

<sup>1</sup> Nicetas, p. 50, does not say that these renegades were heretics, but their country is mentioned by others as full of heretics, and Nicetas says that they adopted Turkish customs. See my *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 389.

expression and direction, and Islam is, roughly speaking,<sup>1</sup> the first successful Protestantism, i.e. the first case in which the revolt from the character imparted to the Orthodox faith during the fifth and later centuries succeeded in making itself strong enough to become a conquering power.

It is of course not the case that all the Protestants acquiesced in the faith of Islam. The Nestorians for example have maintained a continuous existence as a separate Church to the present day, but their numbers are few and have been growing fewer, and the history of the Nestorian Church exemplifies the way in which the Christian communities gradually melted away and disappeared during the time when Turkish power was strongest. Some might add that the continued existence of the Armenian Church, which is pointedly distinguished from the Orthodox and is regarded with dislike by the latter as infected with the Monophysite heresy, is an example of the survival of a heretic sect on a large scale. But the Armenians are not Protestants: they accept that dogma regarding the Mother of God, which the real Protestants and the characteristic heretics of Anatolia rejected, and even in regard to the Armenian survival we have to remember that this is also a national as much as a religious fact. It is a nation that has survived, a nation unified by its own special form of religious ritual and clinging to it with all the strength that results from a union of patriotism and religious feeling in a single force, and in our own time we have seen how the Armenian people, after surviving for centuries, has been at last exposed to a process of extermination. Its numbers are immensely decreased during the last thirty years, and without aid from external powers and from the civilized races of Europe Armenianism would probably be exterminated within the limits of the Turkish Empire.

In all these various historical facts we see only varying effects of the same circumstances. We see the same forces acting more quickly and more completely in some cases, and less rapidly but in the long run none the less surely in other cases. Without external aid the Christian element of the population of Anatolia would probably disappear, except the Greek Orthodox Church, which, though once at least very severely handled, has always known how to make terms with the Ottoman Government and yet retain its own character.

In this survey we observe that in Asia Minor all the initiative, the

<sup>1</sup> This rough statement must not be treated as an attempt, which would be merely foolish and presumptuous, to put the nature of Islam into a sentence. It expresses one aspect, which needs emphasis, because too often neglected.



enterprise, and the enthusiasm and self-confidence are found with the Protestants, whereas in the Orthodox Church one is struck with the quiet unchanging permanence, the submission to outward circumstances as almost immaterial, and the absolute steadfastness in suffering. Those who most value the former qualities will regard with special interest the iconoclast and other Protestant or heretic sects. Those who look to uniformity and steadfastness as the highest characteristics will look with most sympathy on the marvellous history of the Orthodox Church in this country. Contemplated at any moment and for any brief period the Greek Orthodox Church seems as dull as ditch water and as level as a marsh, while the striking qualities of human nature and of history are with the heretics; but seen over a long period of a thousand years or more, the former acquires the dignity of large scale and continuity—while the latter indubitably lack certain of the characteristics which make for permanence.

With regard to the Christians who adopted Mohammedanism, this process of change is not likely to have occurred suddenly, either by forcible conversion or by rapid transformation of Christians into Moslems. It seems to have come about voluntarily and slowly, and the Christian population lived for a time side by side with the Moslem Turks, gradually conforming to Islam, not through any compulsion on the part of the Seldjuk Sultans, but through a process in which like sought like. The situation presents some resemblance to that which existed about the year A.D. 50 to 52, when the Phrygian and Lycaonian Churches of the Roman Province Galatia tended to follow the Jewish Christians rather than the Pauline teaching. The reason of that tendency lay in a natural affinity of the Anatolian people for the Semitic type of religion, and it required all the personal authority of Paul to keep them true to his own teaching.<sup>1</sup> In a similar fashion, the Christian population of the Seldjuk Empire assimilated itself to the Asiatic religion of Mohammed.

The Turkish population, therefore, is very strongly coloured with the old Anatolian character. It must be supposed that those who settled down in the cities were the most adaptable, the most ready to learn, and the most educated section of the conquerors. They adopted in considerable degree the manners and habits of the people, taking houses and industries and wives as they found them in the country. But the distinction between the nomad and those who settled down in the cities is apparent at so early a date after the conquest, as to show that there existed some distinction from the beginning. The Turks had already been a power in Asia for some

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 256.

centuries, and had been in relations with more civilized races, and the distinction of Turk and Turkmen began during that time.

Further, there must have been an economic change. A large part of the country was degraded from the agricultural to the nomad stage, and in consequence the amount of food produced was not sufficient to support a large population. Through the operation of causes like these, the change gradually came about.

The Turkmens are not nomadic to the same extent as the Yuruks.<sup>1</sup> Their summer residence (Yaila) is frequently quite close to their winter village (Kishla). Sometimes the Yaila is within a few hundred yards of the Kishla, but usually it is more distant and on higher ground; and often the winter village divides itself in summer among a series of Yaila, extending over a wide territory. The Kishla has little to distinguish it from an ordinary Turkish village, and it is especially by the lofty head-dress and unveiled face of the women that the ordinary traveller can judge whether such a village is Turkmen or Turk.

Some of the Turkmen groups are Shiya, while others are Sunni. I could never discover any principle underlying the religious difference, nor any cause determining it, nor any geographical plan in the distribution of the two sects. It was equally difficult to find any social difference produced by the religious fact, and no pacific person attempts to investigate social facts in Turkey, unless they are very patent. See Section III.

## V. NOMADS AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN THE AGRICULTURAL STATE

The most thoroughly nomadic of all the races of Anatolia are the YURUKS, a series of small, scattered communities found chiefly in the mountains, but occasionally also in the great plains. They extend in small groups from the neighbourhood of Smyrna to the Eastern Taurus. As their name indicates (Yuru means to move or travel), they are a nomadic people, wandering sometimes very great distances between their summer and their winter haunts. The most typical Yuruks do not practise agriculture. It has sometimes been considered—and one distinguished German scholar and traveller, at least, maintains—that the Yuruks, whose customs are in many respects distinctly different from the Turkish, preserve traces of old Anatolian habits and ways of life. This, I think, is not correct. They are typical Central Asian nomads, differing from the Turkish merely because they preserve far more thoroughly than any other tribe in

<sup>1</sup> See Section V.



Turkey the old nomadic Central Asian habit, and many customs which accompany it. Just because they are so truly nomad, they are untrue to the old Anatolian type, which was settled and peaceful. The nomadization of the country was the means by which Turkey broke down the old Roman (or Græco-Roman) society. That well-knit society, weak in many ways and unfit to defend itself against barbaric assault, possessed in spite of its weaknesses a remarkable cohesive strength, which enabled it to withstand and to recover from the tremendous assaults of the Arabs. The first Mohammedan attacks lasted for three centuries, and there was hardly a city in all Asia Minor that was not captured at least once. Yet the social fabric of Roman law and organization stood firm and regained its older cohesive unity.

The nomads prevented the Sultans from inheriting fully the Roman bequest, because they largely destroyed it. In the spasmodic attempts made by individual Sultans to reorganize the Empire, the nomads presented themselves as a difficulty that must be eliminated before organization could be achieved. It was part of the policy of Abd-ul-Hamid—carrying out more effectively the tendencies which were inevitably produced by the centralizing policy begun by Sultan Mahmud II about 1815—to bring about uniformity of the Moslem population, and to substitute for the great variety of Moslem racial names, Yuruk, Avshahr, Circassian, Takhtadji, Kurd, &c., one common condition and one Imperial name.<sup>1</sup> In order to succeed in this attempt it was necessary to produce a certain uniformity of life and occupation: above all, the marked distinction between the nomad and the settled peoples was absolutely hostile to the whole aims of government from Stamboul, and considerable progress was made in the early part of the reign of Abdul Hamid, after the Russo-Turkish War had ended, in the way of compelling nomads to settle down in permanent villages. The Yuruks were the most confirmed wanderers, but the attempt was made to force them by various devices to settle. The devices were not kindly or gentle, and they were successful only in a limited degree. I have known some villages where Yuruks had been compelled to settle as a resident population: after a few years these claimed the title Osmanli. This claim was especially made by the leading men of the village. The old chief of the tribe became under the new system the principal person in the village, and he knew that it was to his interest to adopt the policy of the Government and to enforce it on his people and to popularize the title Osmanli. But the neighbours were quite aware

<sup>1</sup> See Section X.

of the historical fact and would tell the inquiring traveller that the people of that village called themselves Osmanli,<sup>2</sup> but were really Yuruk. There still remain, however, in the mountain regions of Central Taurus considerable numbers of Yuruks, who preserve the old nomadic habit unbroken.

The Turkmens in the semi-nomadic condition described in Section IV are presumably in an intermediate stage between their old nomadic habit (as described by Byzantine historians and by early travellers) and the condition of fixed settlement to which it has been the aim of the centralized administration to reduce them. When one finds that many villages which style themselves Osmanli go out during the summer to Yaila, it is probably right to infer that here we have a population which has advanced a little farther on the path that leads from nomadism to complete settlement. In all villages of this class a considerable amount of agriculture is practised, whereas the pure nomad lives by the produce of his flocks and herds. In proportion as the population becomes settled and devotes itself more and more to agriculture, the land is able to support a distinctly larger population.

It is pathetic to observe the attempts at agriculture which are made by villagers who are settling down from nomadism. They have, in some cases, not yet learned that it is necessary to gather out the stones, and one notices<sup>1</sup> on the edge of the hills corn struggling up out of soil which could hardly be seen owing to the number of large loose stones, which were scattered over it. It is a hard experience for a nomadic people to settle down to agricultural life. The life of the nomad is, in a sense, a continual holiday. The work is light, and has become pleasant through long habit. Looking after sheep or goats requires little physical toil and no hard manual labour, though it would be far from pleasant to a person who was suddenly plunged into this kind of life, as it involves much exposure and, in times of bad weather, real hardship; but to the nomad the agricultural life presents itself as one of hard, never-ending and uncongenial toil, and usually he has to begin by breaking new land, and sometimes to settle on land which requires much preparation and preliminary work before it is fit for agriculture. The process of bringing the water for irrigation is one which may involve years of prolonged toil, requiring engineering skill, which the nomads do not possess; and in default of any irrigation they are dependent for the harvest entirely on the chances of a very uncertain rainfall, which frequently comes in great storms that do more harm than good. In one case, on the northern skirts of Kara-

<sup>1</sup> The best example that I remember is on the edge of Karadja Dag, east of Konia, between Emir-Ghazi and Kara-Bunar.



Dagh, fifty miles south-east of Konia, we saw in 1908 several square miles of growing corn which had been almost completely covered by gravel and sand washed down by a great rainfall from the mountain side : the land was totally ruined, and there was no energy nor skill in the wretched population of the village to restore the soil to a condition fit for agriculture.

The process of settling down from the nomadic to the agricultural stage is one that frequently proceeds from natural causes. An agricultural population can live in larger numbers on the land than a nomad and pastoral people. If a pastoral population increases beyond the nomadic limit of nourishment, it must either send out swarms to new fields, or settle to make more use of the land by cultivation, or keep down its numbers by infanticide or some other method. I have read an argument of a distinguished foreign sociologist directed to prove that the practice of infanticide was a humane method intended to guard against the starvation of a too numerous population in a pastoral country !

There are naturally several stages in the process of settling down as it takes place in natural evolution. Setting aside the main fact that a gradually increasing number of people and amount of soil is devoted to the processes of agriculture, there is the external and visible fact that the nomads cease to be purely pastoral wanderers, and go back and forward annually between the same winter and summer quarters, *Kishla* and *Yaila*. A *Kishla* is not unlike a Turkish village, except that it is even more filthy and dilapidated and ramshackle. The summer quarters, *Yaila*, are generally at some distance on a higher elevation or out in the open plain, and the habitations in *Yaila* are generally tents or booths, but sometimes even built huts. In some cases the summer quarters are intended to facilitate the care of flocks, but in other cases, where the process of settling has proceeded further, they are useful in cultivating outlying lands, where little or nothing could be done during the long winters.

Neither the earlier Seldjuk Sultans nor the later Ottoman Empire intended to destroy the old Roman fabric or to reduce the plateau of Asia Minor to the nomadic stage. The nomad tribes were a thorn in the flesh of the Turkish State, although they had been the real instruments of conquest. As the present writer said in 1891, ' the Oriental character grew stronger century by century in the Byzantine government ; one dynasty overturned another, and each was less " western " than the preceding one. Phrygians, Isaurians, Cappadocians, and Armenians, ruled under the style of Roman Emperors, till at length a purely Oriental dynasty of Osmanlis eliminated even the

superficial forms of the West. The change was not in all respects so great as we are apt to suppose. The language and the religion and the government of Anatolia reached at last the Oriental goal to which the genius of the land tended' (*Histor. Geogr. of Asia M.*, p. 25).

## VI. RECENT IMMIGRANT RACES

The population of Asia Minor has been remaking itself during recent centuries through constant immigration from the East. Immigration from the West has brought in only small numbers, but these have been persons as a rule of very much higher education and energy than the native peoples, and have therefore exerted an influence quite disproportionate to their strength. By the Capitulations, however, they could not become Turkish subjects, and must remain aliens.<sup>1</sup> Twice during the writer's experience the British Government has tried to get rid of the British residents in Turkey by withdrawing consular protection after a certain lapse of generations; and they have had to send a lawyer home to prove that this attempt to get rid of them was illegal and impossible.

The pressure from the East has always continued, except in so far as better organization prevents it. While it would be outside of our purpose to enumerate all the peoples whose presence in Asia Minor can be detected at the present day, a task which as a matter of fact is impossible, it is useful to mention a certain number of the tribes, in order to exemplify the manner in which they have settled in Asia Minor in comparatively recent time. A people called AVSHAHR specially attracts attention. They are apparently not dissimilar to the Turkmens in physique and character and habits of life, and they are among comparatively modern immigrants, because their home is in the eastern regions of Asia Minor. They are found also in much larger numbers in Persia than in Turkey, though there is no continuity between their Turkish haunts and their Persian abodes. Long distances often separate the sections of a nomadic people. At present the Anti-Taurus affords the Avshahr a shelter in its deep glens and high-lying pastures, but until about fifty years ago their country was the great uplands called Uzun-Yaila ('Long Summer-Pastures'), which extend between the upper waters of the Halys and the Tokhma-Su (one of the western affluents of the Euphrates), from which they

<sup>1</sup> Until some date not very much anterior to 1880 the alien males under consular protection were not allowed to own real estate, but alien women could do so; and elderly English friends told us that their property used to be held in the name of their wives.



were driven out by the Circassians, in circumstances which will be alluded to in a later paragraph of this section. In the Anti-Taurus the Avshahr still dwell, and so late as 1882, as I can bear witness, the Turkish officials had to preserve a very humble demeanour when they ventured into the mountain villages.

While this region is the main home of the Avshahr, it is remarkable to find two villages bearing that name<sup>1</sup> in the extreme south-western part of Phrygia, in the Kara-Eyük Ova, a little way north of Kibyra and the Lycian frontier. One asks why this small section of people should be found so far from the main body, but when one remembers that they are nomads, the process can be easily imagined, and is exemplified in many instances, of which a few specimens will be found in the sequel of this section. A group is broken off from the main body, and wanders about seeking a place to dwell. It is driven and buffeted from point to point, until at last it finds opportunity of resting in its present abode, usually settling down in the process from the nomadic to the agricultural stage (see later, p. 37).

The KURDS, on the contrary, are one of the oldest peoples who can be traced in Asia Minor, or in Armenia farther east, or Kurdistan. They are supposed to be of the same race as the Kardouchoi, whom Xenophon found hostile to the march of the 10,000 Greeks nearly 400 years B.C. in that same region. Yet, although they, for the most part, live farther east than the Turkish Avshahr, they are probably much older residents of the country.

It is not widely known that, in addition to the Kurds of Kurdistan and Armenia, who have become so unpleasantly notorious in respect of the Armenian massacres, there are also considerable bodies of Kurds west of the Halys, completely divided from the others by a stretch of territory. These Kurds of the central plateau inhabit almost the whole country of the Haimane (including the south-western part of the province of Angora) and the central plains immediately adjoining the great Salt Lake. In the plains they are mixed up with Yuruks and Turkmens, and isolated groups of them extend far south, within 14 hours of Konia. These Galatian and Lycaonian Kurds are in character very similar to those of Kurdistan, but they are immigrant, whereas the others have inhabited their country for thousands of years. They preserved practical independence of the Turkish Government and paid no tribute until about the year 1880. In the year 1883, while travelling in their country, we were told by a Zaptieh (gendarme) that they were now perfectly quiet, and that travelling among them

<sup>1</sup> They are distinguished as Avshahr and Kum-Avshahr, see *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 109.

was safe; that conditions had been very different formerly, but the present *Kaimmakam*, a Circassian, had taught them a lesson: he could not of course get authority to execute any of them, but he had a practice of beating severely any one that was arrested, and it chanced that every one after being beaten died, and the Haimane was now at rest.

The Kurds, who speak an Indo-European tongue which is, I believe, akin to the Armenian, are one of the most interesting ethnologically, and one of the least attractive in moral character, of all the Anatolian tribes. We have all heard a great deal about them in recent years, and hardly ever a word to their credit. Personally, my experience of them has been quite agreeable, though in one or two cases they have not shown any superabundant hospitality. They are, as a rule, greedy and covetous, but at the same time they appreciate the material benefits of civilization, and they realize that they have no opportunity of acquiring such things as civilization offers, in a land where the nearest small shop is 12 to 20 hours distant. They all have the reputation of being thieves, and frankly admit it.

In 1911, in a waste and dreary part of the plains on the west of the Great Salt Lake, we came on an interesting settlement which was just in process of formation. We stopped at a great fountain of excellent water which rose out of the plain and flowed away towards the Salt Lake. A woman was drawing water. Her dress and appearance attracted instant attention, as she obviously belonged to some strange race. We halted to inquire into the circumstances, and also to hunt for inscriptions in the settlement which her presence indicated. We found a small body of MONGOLS who had come, at the invitation of Abd-ul-Hamid's agents, to settle in Turkey. Their former home had been away east of Bokhara, but its exact position we failed to determine; and they had spent three months travelling from their original home to Constantinople. Thence after some delay they were sent to this point in the plain. There was here fertile soil unoccupied with abundant water. Greek masons from the town of Ak-Sheher, a station on the railway about 30 hours distant, were employed by Government to build houses for the new settlers, and a row of small houses had been hastily run up to receive them. The workmen had finished and were now about to depart. The row of shanties was about as forlorn a beginning for a new life as can be imagined. The workmen had hastily run up a series of single rooms, consisting only of four walls and a chimney. There was no flooring. Inside each the natural soil was covered with the débris of mortar, stones, and all the filth which workmen leave behind them. The



Mongols were too disheartened to set about the improvement of the hovels and of the land. It was too late to begin to sow for the present year. They were dumped down there without guidance, without equipment, without provisions, and far away from any centre where it was possible to purchase anything, if they possessed money. They spoke Turkish in a different dialect, but were easily able to communicate with Turkish speakers, which was their one advantage. Physically they were a fine people, not tall like the Turkmens, but strongly built, vigorous, and good-looking after the Mongol type. A year later I inquired about them, and was told they had all died off. Winter came on : cold and hunger did their work.

In this case you have a typical example of the treatment which a centralized Turkish Government has extended to the many thousands of immigrants who have come into Asia Minor since 1860. I do not imagine that the first Avshahr immigrants were so unfortunate, because they came at an earlier time, and had to deal with human beings and not with Government ; but allowing for certain differences one learns from the other case how a small body of settlers was propelled from point to point until at last it found a resting-place. The village of Avshahr retains the name of these settlers. There were plenty of villages round about where kindly treatment from poor people could be obtained, and those surrounding villages distinguished the new one as the village of the Avshahr. There is, however, no sympathy among the Turks of the plateau for alien Moslem immigrants.

The CRETAN Moslems who settled on the plateau almost all died ; the total change of climate and life killed them ; there was no one to teach them how to adapt themselves to the new surroundings. On the other hand, the Cretans who settled near the west coast were able to suit themselves to their situation, because the climate was not dissimilar to that of their island home. They are always regarded with great suspicion as unruly, quarrelsome, and dangerous. The fact is that people who have energy and initiative enough to emigrate instead of submitting to the conditions of home learn to rebel and to help themselves, and adopt the old Border motto, ' Thou shalt want ere I want '.

Beginning from the time when Russia conquered the Mohammedan lands near or beyond its Asiatic frontier, many Moslem immigrants from the conquered countries have come to settle in Turkey. A natural inclination to dwell alongside of their fellow Moslems led them to emigrate into Turkey, and the fact that these emigrants left their lands to become the property of native Russian subjects

or of Christians who would assimilate themselves more easily to the Russian administration, was probably regarded by the Russian Government as presenting distinct advantages in the new period that was beginning, inasmuch as the presence of many Moslems, more or less hostile, in the newly conquered regions was likely to be an additional difficulty. In this way, TATARS, GEORGIANS, and above all, CIRCASSIANS, came into Anatolia about and after the year 1860. The Turkish Government invited and welcomed them, promising lands and a good settlement, and appointing Commissioners to plant colonies of these immigrants in the many regions where the population was scanty or almost entirely wanting. This access of new population did not prove so advantageous as might have been expected. There is no sympathy between Turks and Circassians. The Turks dislike and fear the Circassians, while the latter dislike and regard with contempt the Turks. The Circassians are unruly, while the Turkish population is obedient in the highest degree to the existing authority, and the feeling of hostility between the old population and the immigrant Circassians has constituted a serious difficulty throughout the last 50 years. Every traveller can tell many experiences of trouble caused in the country to the native Turks, and sometimes to the traveller himself, by Circassian outlaws or robbers.

Moreover, the Commissioners who were appointed to find settlements for the immigrant tribes acted in the regular Turkish fashion. They regarded their office as an opportunity for emolument, and were unable to find settlements until they had plundered the people under their protection of everything that they possessed when they entered Turkey. One heard many tales of the disgraceful treatment to which the Circassians were subjected, and their experiences in the process of settlement must have left a deep impression on their minds.

One case is specially characteristic of Turkish administrative methods. A large body of Circassians who had been made to march about the country westward and eastward by the Commissioners of Settlement, at last found themselves at Amasia—helpless, almost starving, and wholly desperate.<sup>1</sup> They seized the Pasha, and gave him a choice, either to find homes for them at once or to be killed on the spot: homes for them were found. I am not sure whether it was this body of Circassians or another that was conducted to the Uzun-Yaila, the rolling uplands which extend between Halys and the Tokhma-Su. They were informed that these were the lands allotted

<sup>1</sup> My authority was the Consul for Germany at Amasia in 1881: he was Swiss by nationality and blood.

to them. The lands were at the moment in possession of the Avshahr, who had hitherto preserved practical independence, and paid no attention to orders from Constantinople or from Sivas. This was an ingenious dodge, worthy of the best Turkish tradition. Whatever the result, the Turk must gain. Two unruly elements, a danger to unity of feeling and to centralized administration, were (like barbarian gladiators in a Roman amphitheatre) set to fight one another. It would have been a supreme triumph for the old kind of Turkish policy, that these two elements should have been so exactly balanced as to destroy each other. The Circassians, however, being desperate with hunger, proved stronger, drove out the Avshahr into the Antitaurus mountains, and took possession of the Uzun-Yaila, where they still are.

This tide of immigration has been continuously pouring into Anatolia during the reign of Abd-ul-Hamid. Great efforts were made by him through his emissaries in all parts of the Asiatic world to induce Moslems to come to Turkey out of Christian countries, as well as to strengthen the Moslem element in the land generally. Out of Russia many refugees have come, and most of them (as I believe) have regretted their action when too late.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1884 the monument called the Tomb of Midas in the Phrygian mountain country stood solitary in an uninhabited country. In 1887 there was a Circassian village newly built right in front of the great rock-tomb, and it still remained there when I last visited the place in 1907. These Circassians had come from Russia and had settled in this winding picturesque glen, delightful indeed in summer and healthy though cold in winter. We rode down from this place to the residence of the Mutesarîf at Kara-Hissar in company with the Circassian Bey who had led his little tribe into Turkey. He was now going at the summons of some soldiers to answer charges in connexion with unpaid taxes, and he declared repeatedly on the way that he had made a profound blunder in leaving Russia, where his people had been prosperous and happy, and entering a country where he was exposed to spoliation on all sides. That little matter of unpaid taxes was weighing heavy on his mind, and perhaps the language of a person in such circumstances must not be regarded as strictly and perfectly trustworthy. But he maintained that he had not a penny left in his possession, that everything which his people possessed worth seizing had been taken, and that he regarded the Turks with supreme contempt. The Russians he feared, and the English he feared, but the Turks were of no account. Whatever may have been the case in this instance, the

<sup>1</sup> I can only vouch for the feeling of those that I have met, which was always the same.



story of the early Circassian immigrants as I have heard it often from excellent authorities was most discreditable to the Turks. Very considerable numbers of Circassians left the country and came into Anatolia, when the Caucasus was conquered by the Russians. They were taken hither and thither, back and forward, through Asiatic and European Turkey, and were fleeced of everything that they possessed. It is certain that the Circassians are an unruly and even a dangerous element in a comparatively peaceful country, for Turkey undoubtedly is peaceful to a remarkable degree, except where there are Christians or Druses or other heretics to be harried and massacred at Government orders. Wherever there is nowadays any robbery or disturbance in the open country, the trouble is in four cases out of five connected with Circassians, but it must be acknowledged that in most cases the Circassian malcontents have had good reason to be discontented. The poor Moslem population used to suffer more from the police than any other element of the population. The Turks submitted to injustice and spoliation, but the Circassians resisted such treatment.

Tatar immigrants from Russia have also come in considerable numbers. There are not so many distinct villages of Tatars, who frequently are attracted to the larger towns. They act as wagoners, and their trade requires that they should be at the great centres of intercourse. They are extremely hardy and strong, and make a very valuable element in the population; they are industrious, good-tempered and kindly in disposition, and fraternize readily with the older population.

The chief source of new population, however, during recent years has been the European provinces of Turkey. As these were cut off from the Empire and placed under Christian rule, a considerable body of the Moslem population has in each case emigrated to be under Moslem rule, and almost all have been sent into Anatolia. Natives of Bosnia and Bulgaria and Roumelia are found in large numbers scattered here and there over the plateau. They are all in popular terms lumped up together as Roumeli, and they are more energetic, more enterprising, and economically better instructed than the Anatolian population. The mere process of emigration is educative, for the emigrants have to face and overcome many difficulties; and economic education is essentially the process of learning to overcome the difficulties of the world, a process which is also morally invigorative. Further, their dress distinguishes them at a glance: it is not essentially different in type, but there are slight differences which are obvious to an observant eye.

In pre-Turkish times, as has been already said, there occurred real intermingling of race and blood in Asia Minor, though one strain and type always became dominant in the long run—mainly through the influence of geographical and climatic conditions. In the Turkish period, however, the various races do not intermix. They live side by side, interwoven with one another in the most extraordinary fashion, and yet there is hardly ever any intermarriage. The view which the present writer holds in regard to this subject is that the want of real intermixture is a source of weakness and not of strength. It is, as a rule, the mixed races which are the most important in the history of the world, though there are striking exceptions, as for example in the case of the Jews (who owe their strength and permanence to 'the religion of the Book'). But in Turkey the juxtaposition of intermingled nomad and semi-nomad and agricultural populations, all keeping separate from one another, seems to result in a stock which is not energetic or vigorous : still less can it be called intellectual or easily educable. It is also a potential source of danger to peace, not because the peoples of Asia Minor are difficult to govern or prone to disorder, but that, if quarrels do break out between quite distinct races, they are apt to become more serious. Yet in general it is indubitably the case that only firm administration of the ordinary law is needed to keep the peace in a region where no criminal class exists.

#### VII. DECREASE OF THE MOSLEMS OF ANATOLIA

It is not here intended to take any account of decrease due to war. Anatolia has always been the main source of the military strength of the Turkish Empire, and it is the villages of Anatolia, chiefly, that supply its soldiers ; as the European provinces have dropped off, the importance of Anatolia has steadily increased.

The greatest drain has been through that never-ending war whose existence is hardly known in the West, namely, the war in the Yemen. It is always regarded in the villages as a final parting when one of their number is called up for the war in Arabia. One who knows well used to say that, where twelve go, one returns. The change of climate, sudden and extreme, from Anatolia to Arabia is very trying, and no arrangements are made to teach men to adapt themselves to such a complete change, or to make adaptation possible if its principles were taught. This steady drain on the population has been going on for very many years. The cause is not death in battle : when there is a little fighting, perhaps one may be killed on each side. Disease is the real cause. From other reasons the same cause has been steadily active in Anatolia.

The large recent accession of population (as described in Section VI) ought to have added greatly to the strength of Asiatic Turkey, but it has been balanced by the steady decrease of the old population. I spoke about this decrease in 1897<sup>1</sup> in the following terms :

‘ Will the revival of Mohammedanism be permanent in Asia Minor ? So far as the centre and west is concerned, it cannot be. The Moslems are dying out there. Even where the Greeks have not begun to settle, the Turks are diminishing in numbers owing to conscription, misgovernment, and certain diseases—a topic on which I will not enter, because I have avoided studying or observing them. The Moslems have no heart. They are in the grip of the railways, and under the influence of Europe. In the eastern regions it may be different for a time. . . . Yet most of us probably will live to see the boundary between European and Asiatic rule placed near the Euphrates. . . . Orientalism is ebbing and dying in the country. The tide of western ideas and western thoughts is flowing and strong ; eight centuries of strict and stern repression are behind it and drive it onward irresistibly. The Great Powers of Europe, as they feebly and nervelessly protest against the movement towards freedom, and officially disown it, and stand for the constituted authority and rights of the Sultan,<sup>2</sup> . . . are in the position of Canute when he set bounds to the flowing tide. The world, the course of history and the mind of man are against the Powers ; and there is nothing possible for them in the long run except an ignominious retreat from their position, amid the contempt and the reprobation of mankind, whose feelings they are now outraging. They are abusing the resources of civilized society and government to support and prop up the most contemptible administration by which barbarism and organized disorder ever tried to stifle enlightenment and order. But they cannot do more, they do not even pretend to do more, than prolong its dying agonies a few months or years ; they do not think, and they hardly plead as an excuse, that they are lessening the inevitable dangers of its dissolution by postponement ; some of them, doubtless, know (as those of my acquaintance that are most familiar with the East all feel) that they are only increasing those dangers by staving them off for the moment. They can drill a good army for the Sultan, and Turks are very good material for soldiers, but they cannot put permanent vitality into the Asiatic reaction.’<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 156 : also cp. pp. 130–3.

<sup>2</sup> The date when this was published was 1897.

<sup>3</sup> The chief fault in that paragraph seems to be in understanding the strength which might be given to Turkey by strong and stern European guidance.



My friend, Sir William Whittall, expressed in a letter his emphatic agreement with this statement, and he supported his own observation by the evidence of a German physician, who had been employed by Abd-ul-Hamid to report upon the decrease in the population. This is a grave matter, and what I have heard about it, or seen, needs to be carefully stated.

Abd-ul-Hamid was undoubtedly influenced by reports which had reached him of an alarming nature, with regard to the diminution of the Moslem population in the Asiatic provinces, where the spread of disease had been, and still is, a marked feature. I have often said that the filth and dilapidation of Turkish villages were steadily becoming worse, and that the country was apparently coming to the condition in which some great pestilence was likely to break out. You estimate safely the dirtiness of a Turkish village or of any house in it by the number of years that you have known it, and you say that you were in this same house ten years ago, and that it is now ten years dirtier than it was when you last saw it. It is only the strong sunlight which preserves the country from some terrible plague. Villages or their neighbourhood are inhabitable in summer, but in case of rain the condition to which a village is reduced is indescribable. Owing to the nature of the reports which the Sultan heard, he employed a distinguished German physician to report on the condition of the Province of Angora, and also as some say of Kastamouni. This physician spent several years in making an investigation, and sent in a report which was never published, but whose contents were known to be of a most serious character. It was, however, much talked about by well-informed people, and its general character was reported to me independently by two excellent authorities, personally well acquainted with this physician (who is now, or was three years ago, a Professor in Strassburg University). Both these authorities, one British, the other German, were among the best-informed persons with regard to Turkish affairs that I have met, and both described in identical terms (evidently caught from the lips of a person in conversation) the tone of the report, which was to the effect that the population of the Province was rapidly dying out, and that nothing could be done to save them, because measures which would give relief and diminish the danger were impossible as conflicting with the established social system of the country.

There can be little doubt that the anxious care with which Abd-ul-Hamid tried to bring in immigrants from outside countries was due to the impression that this expert report made on him, and doubtless it was supplemented by the unskilled reports which reached him from

many other sources. It cannot be doubted that Abd-ul-Hamid's policy all hangs together. He did undoubtedly try to gauge the situation, and he set himself deliberately to work for a definite purpose, viz. the restoration of Moslem power. The means which he employed were commonly of a primitive type, but he attempted to study the facts of the Empire and to work out a policy of his own, in which he attained some success. One cannot approve his means, but one must admit that he was actuated by a fanatical religious belief and an overwhelming desire to strengthen the people and religion of his own land.

In order to show that I am not merely judging after the event, I may be permitted to quote from the same source (as published in 1897) another passage<sup>1</sup>:

‘ But Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid believed that the Crescent would be renewed, and he has for twenty years faced the torrent in his shattered and hardly seaworthy bark, kept her head upstream, and made astonishing way. With an almost bankrupt treasury, a navy which has rotted till the ships hardly hold together, a beaten and broken army, a disaffected people, surrounded by disloyalty, in constant peril from his own subjects, held on his throne only by the diplomatists of Europe and their mutual hatred and mistrust and the dread of each that another may secure their coveted share of dismembered Turkey, he reigns still, the sole mover of Turkish policy, autocrat to a degree that no other recent Sultan has been ; and under him Mohammedanism and Orientalism have gathered fresh strength to defy the feeling of Europe, strength lying in the moral power that resolute purpose and religious fervour give against selfish or blundering adversaries. . . .

‘ This man, who has played the part of Mithridates in the nineteenth century and played it with such skill and success, with scheming head, not with warlike hands, well deserves the historian's study. It is a remarkable part that he has undertaken, to stem the tide of change, which the three previous Sultans accepted as inevitable, and to stifle the growth of civilization in Turkey, which the strongest party in Turkey desired. The task would have been impossible, had it not been for the resources that civilization put in his hands ; for, indubitably, modern inventiveness, by facilitating destruction, places enormous power in the hands of barbarism.

‘ His ally, without whom he could not have done nearly so much, has been Germany. It was patent to every one as far back as 1882 that the Sultan, feeling he had nothing to fear from German aggression, inclined to favour that country, which became immensely

<sup>1</sup> *Impressions of Turkey*, 1897, pp. 139, 151.

influential in Constantinople and has remained so ever since. Each party had much to gain : neither had anything to lose. German capital found an opening in Turkish enterprises ; German officers organized the Turkish army ; Krupp supplied the guns, and Germans calculated the range, did all the more scientific part of artillery practice, and taught the soldiers to do the simpler work. The Sultan wanted an effective army to defend his life and to crush disaffection ; and the Germans gave it to him. So long as German officers are there to guide the operations, and so long as they succeed in keeping the supreme command out of the hands of some incapable Turk . . . the Sultan can do as he will in the East. German railways radiate from the Bosphorus over Asia Minor. German enterprises get every facility they require. People may blame the selfish policy of Germany ; but her policy has been no more selfish than that of every other European power interested in the East at one time or other.'

It has been learned since the preceding paragraph was printed that the German policy in Turkey differed in being so much more far-sighted than that of any other nation, and in the last two years in being more unscrupulous.

#### VIII. UNITY THROUGH RELIGION

Neither in Asia Minor, nor incidentally in Asia as a whole, can the problem of race ever be dissociated in practical affairs from the problem of religion, and those parts of Europe which are nearest to Asia approximate correspondingly in this characteristic. It is mainly by religion, far more than by blood or language, that classification and separation of elements has taken place. But still it is not rare to find that religious facts have been only the insignia on the banners of opposing races, or of antagonistic economic elements which were already arrayed against one another by other causes. The religious differences served only to emphasize and to define racial or economic hostility. For example, the hatred between the Bulgarian and the Greek elements in the population of south-eastern Europe existed long before 1870, but since that year it has been accentuated and directed by the schism of the Bulgarian Church of the Exarchate from the Patriarchate of the Greeks. Throughout Turkey the power of religion as a unifying force is especially conspicuous in the Orthodox Church. All members of the Orthodox Church call themselves Hellenes ; all feel themselves to be so. They differ in race and in language, and are widely separated from one another, like islands in the estranging sea of Islam. But small communities in



Isauria and in Pisidia, in Cappadocia and in Pontus, feel themselves one with the Hellenes of Greece, because they are united in the Orthodox Church. The common fact of Christianity has little power to produce a feeling of community with any other Christian Churches, except among the most educated and thoughtful Hellenes. The Hellenes consider the Orthodox as the only Christians, and they will state the comparative elements in the population of a town as being 'so many Islam, so many Christians, so many Armenians and a few Protestant'.

There is no doubt that Islam, in spite of sectarian divisions, is to a certain degree unified in feeling, at least so far as the two great groups of Sunni and Shiya are concerned. While Sunni and Shiya are enemies, disliking and despising one another, they are held together by a certain unity of common ritual; and in so far as religious consciousness is roused by pressure from without against Islam in general, Sunni and Shiya may, for a temporary purpose, be unified. But certainly, so far as the immensely preponderating distribution and numbers of Sunni go, they are held together in a remarkable degree, so far as religious feeling is concerned; but this unity has rarely been sufficient to weld together different countries and diverse races in a common political movement or a struggle against any other power. The great invasions of Islam upon the non-Mohammedan world have been inroads of a single race, or have been dominated and led by one race; they have not been invasions by a union of races. For example, on the one hand (as a friend of mine, brought up from infancy in Turkey and serving as a Government official in the Malayan Provinces told me), the birthday of Abd-ul-Hamid was celebrated with far greater enthusiasm among the Mohammedans of that country than the birthday of King Edward. But, on the other hand, common action in politics or war between the Turks and the Moslems of eastern Asia could not be regarded in the past, or at present, as a possible factor in history. The attempt of Abd-ul-Hamid to make a great Pan-Islamic union had a sporadic success here and there, but as a whole it was not a serious danger to other races and external Governments. The truth is expressed, as I think, by a good observer: 'The spiritual unity of Islam is a great reality, and acts as a powerful promoter of vital religious forces throughout all its branches' (*Vital Forces of Chr. and Islam*: Oxford, 1915). But in that sentence you cannot substitute 'political' for 'religious' and retain any truth.

On the other hand, I doubt much whether there is any vital unity between Sunni and the other heterodox sects of Islam, apart from Shiya, so far as they are found in Asia Minor. These heretic sects are

so few in numbers, that they hardly attain to independent recognition, but are slumped all together as Shiya, or designated by some epithet of opprobrium, which Sunni apply to any and every heterodox sect.

Though the interrelation of racial and religious factors can never be in practical life safely dissociated, yet in theoretical and abstract contemplation of the problem, as contemplated in this paper, the religious factor will receive little notice, except in this general warning that in practical affairs it can never safely be left out of consideration.

### IX. THE ATTEMPTED UNIFICATION OF TURKEY

The existence of so many diverse races in Asia Minor used to constitute a distinct weakness in the country, owing to the want of sympathy and the mistrust and even active dislike which exists between many sections even of the Moslems. It is true that in Asia Minor there is no Arab or Arab-speaking population with the exception of a few immigrants from Syria into Cilicia, and therefore the deep chasm which divides Turk from Arab has no existence there. Moreover, in Anatolia the strange way in which the different sections of the population are interwoven with one another tended to form many comparatively shallow lines of cleavage. But the diversity of population and feeling prevented the growth of any deep-seated patriotism or loyalty, while the centralized administration ruling from Stamboul was not of such a character as to encourage and develop loyalty or friendly feelings on the part even of the Moslems. The lines of cleavage between the different peoples, and especially between Turk and Arab, are the points of weakness in Turkey.

All who would understand the forces which have been moving in Turkey must study the policy and the history of Abd-ul-Hamid, a man who possessed some noteworthy ideals, and who aimed at the re-creation of the Turkish Empire, but who was by nature destitute of the practical power of carrying out his ideas in action that would produce permanent effects. He relied too much on the forces of Pan-Islamism, and attempted to create a general feeling throughout all Moslem countries of respect for, and loyalty to, himself as the supreme head of the religion, and to base on this feeling the power of the Sultanate. Previous Sultans had set little store by the title of Khalif, but to Abd-ul-Hamid it became the pivot round which the policy of the Turkish Empire moved. The Sultan was to be in the first place the supreme head of Islam throughout the world, and in

the second place the autocrat of Turkey. In the earlier years of his reign, when the writer first began to travel in and to observe Turkey, Abd-ul-Hamid was extremely unpopular there, and his government was unjust and oppressive in the highest degree; not that he was intentionally unfair to the Moslem population, but that the old system of bribery and corruption was too strong for him, and he lacked the practical capacity for inaugurating a better system of administration. In these circumstances he used the feeling of the Moslem world in general to conciliate to himself the support of his own Ottoman subjects.

In the present study we have of course nothing to do with his policy as a whole, but only as directed to the problem of reconciling the diverse and mutually unfriendly Moslem races of Turkey in an Imperial loyalty and unity. These races are all summed up in official statistics under one heading for the purpose of concealing the disunion.

Abd-ul-Hamid's Armenian policy was part of his general Imperial policy, viz. to strengthen the Moslem element and to eliminate the Christian. It cannot be doubted that he was informed of the steady decay and impoverishment of the Mohammedan population of Anatolia, and that his policy was determined mainly by the wish to benefit the Moslems at the expense of the Christians. The Greeks were saved, because they were too near the west and had command of the machinery of publicity: and their dislike for all non-Orthodox Christians ensured their tacit acquiescence in measures against the Armenians. The mob did not see that it was a case of 'Noman shall be the last I will devour'; it must indeed be recognized that the best and most educated Greeks abhorred the Armenian massacres, and a few of the most far-sighted perceived that their own destruction would come next; but the common Greeks used the opportunity of profit.

The Sultan desired to improve the condition of his Moslem subjects, but he did not know how to do so by economic measures of a kind which might be tried in a civilized country, where knowledge and past experience guide in some degree the efforts of a Government. He had only the past experience of Turkey; and the stages of change (one cannot say development) in Turkey have always been marked by massacre as the one instrument.

Every Armenian massacre, as I believe, was determined in accordance with a certain plan after the old Turkish fashion; e.g. in the great massacre at Constantinople the main idea was to do away with the Armenian porters, and to replace them by Moslem Kurds: in



short, to take an entire trade away from the present holders and hand it over to a favoured people. The new porters had to be settled at Constantinople in the business of portage : the massacre was a way of providing for them. I do not doubt that there was some rough sort of reasoning which underlay the resolution to institute each massacre in the other places, though I am not in a position to say what it was in every case.

In a rough Turkish fashion the purpose was attained. All the loot from the Armenians was seized by the new owners and was sold widely throughout Asiatic Turkey, not merely by Moslems but also by ' Christians ', at ridiculously small prices. I know of cases in which Europeans refused to purchase as curios much beautifully wrought wearing apparel and rich dresses, offered at tempting prices, because they recognized that the work was Armenian and inferred the reason for its appearance in markets far from the massacres. I know of a case in which the British Vice-Consul forbade his employees to purchase any Armenian spoils on pain of dismissal. He was engaged in business in a remote city, where the pretence was maintained by Government that no Armenian massacres ever took place, and he incurred such odium from the Governor of the Province, one of the ablest of Turkish administrators, dangerous as a foe and useful as a friend, that complaints and totally unfounded charges of misconduct were trumped up and sent to Constantinople against him, and he was removed from office ; but in order to avoid any appearance of submission to dictation or of punishment without trial, this dismissal was put in the form of the suppression of the Consulate.

The depreciation in value of the stolen Armenian property is a measure of the failure of such measures to benefit even those who get the loot. Massacres and robbery do good to no one, and are ruinous in the long run to the country. Who remains to pay taxes and to bear the expense of government ? The ignorant and unruly Kurdish porters, who took the place of the Armenians in Constantinople, have been an increasing cause of trouble to the foreign merchants ever since, and an ever-present danger to the city.

And yet, looking back over the reign of Abd-ul-Hamid and comparing the treatment which the Armenians experienced at his hands with what they have been experiencing under his Young-Turk successors, one begins to make some allowance for a policy which, barbarous and abominable as it undoubtedly was, yet evidently was not so cruel as it might have been.

The old Sultan had certainly a difficult problem to face in the earlier years of his reign. In 1880 to 1882 a hopeless despondency

about the future of the country reigned everywhere in Turkish society. Prophecies were current that the end of Turkish power was at hand. I quote the saying of a Binbashi or Major, uttered at Angora in 1881, when I was there : ' We have deserved the ruin that is surely before us, and nothing can save us.' Soldiers who had fought against the Russians declared that the misfortunes which the Turks had experienced were a deserved punishment for the treatment of wounded Russians by their own men. Abd-ul-Hamid had to recreate a feeling of hope among his Moslem subjects. A prophecy began to be current in 1882 that the year 1300, which began on October 31, 1882, was an epoch of Mohammedan history. The prophecies previously current had been about the end of Turkish power. Abd-ul-Hamid introduced the new religious idea : he revived the idea of the Khalifate, on which his predecessors had laid no stress. He planned out a scheme of strengthening Mohammedan feeling and making Turkey the centre of Mohammedan revival. His emissaries were active from the borders of China to the western regions of Africa on the Atlantic Ocean. It was part of his plan to increase the Moslem population of Anatolia by inducing immigrants to come in, and it was also part of his plan to improve their position in the country, to make them more comfortable, more contented and more prosperous. He had no thought that this object could be achieved by good government : the only method which he saw was to take all that the Armenians possessed and hand it over to the Moslems. If in the process of doing this it was necessary to kill the former owners, that was an unfortunate accident which was inseparable from the situation, and really now that we see what he might have done, we begin to think that he was not so bad after all as his successors. We notice also that he substituted a religious idea for a racial, Mohammedan for Turkish. The idea has been changed under the modern administration which succeeded his. It is no longer a religious idea, but rather a national one. The religious idea laid too much stress on the Arabian holy places, and exalted the Arab element dangerously. The new idea is to lay stress on Turkish greatness and Turkish racial spirit.

There can, I think, be no doubt that he deliberately and consciously worked towards the end of creating a uniform empire, peopled by Moslems, who should as far as possible be similar in character and aims, and united in loyalty to the Sultan as Khalif. There are several points in his policy which bear upon the subject of this paper. He was conscious of the weakness which was caused by the extreme dissimilarity of character among the different tribes of Asia Minor. He aimed at producing a certain uniformity by encouraging settlement,

prohibiting nomadism, and producing a more active type of Mohammedan religious feeling. It was regarded as a thing likely to attract his attention and to produce some reward, if an influential native of a village set himself to make a new mosque. I have seen a case in which quite an interesting old village mosque was pulled down, in order to substitute for it a new, ugly, barn-like structure, possessing no architectural feature whatsoever. The person who was guilty of this act told me that it had cost him £500, but a Greek servant whom I had declared that the new mosque would cost about £50 to build: no Turk, in boasting about his merits, can be expected to underestimate their value.<sup>1</sup> An experience like this leads me to believe the story which I have heard that, when Abd-ul-Hamid learned that a chief on the west coast of Africa had constructed a new mosque, he sent him a special decoration, which was conveyed to him through the agency of an English citizen, resident in Liverpool—a lawyer who had become a Mohammedan.

The progress in this movement towards a unification of the Moslem population as Osmanli was very noticeable in the time of Abd-ul-Hamid. The purest and most unmixed Seldjuk Turkish population, in districts where no Osmanli in the racial sense had ever set foot, called themselves and felt themselves Osmanli. They are the people of Osman, because they are loyal to the dynasty which traces itself back to Osman. In order to introduce any real unification into the Moslem population an economic change was often necessary as a first step. The various nomad tribes had never felt any loyalty to the dynasty of Osman, and in many cases they had preserved practical independence: sometimes because their wandering life made it extremely difficult for the central Government to reach them, inasmuch as ephemeral administrators, changing rapidly, had not time to learn how to lay hands on a shifting population before they gained promotion to another office (generally through bribery); sometimes because the numbers of the nomads in certain regions made them so strong that the Imperial officials did not venture to exact obedience or taxes from them.

Until very recent times the motley population of Asia Minor appears to have been perfectly content with tribal and racial designations. The Turkmen or Avshahr was satisfied to be Turkmen or Avshahr, and did not think, so far as I know, of a national or imperial unity to which he belonged; and therefore there was no general name by which the unity of the Empire could be expressed.

<sup>1</sup> Abd-ul-Hamid's power came to an end before the new mosque was fully completed, and no reward was gained by this vandalism.



Whether Abd-ul-Hamid attached any importance to the adoption of one name or general designation for the Moslem subjects of the Empire, I am not aware. Perhaps it was outside the sphere of his interests; perhaps he was lacking in the practical sense for the importance of matters like this; but at least it is inevitable that a process such as he was attempting to carry out should find a name to give expression to it; and the wide adoption of an imperial name in Anatolia is a marked feature of his reign, as I can assert from positive knowledge. The name was an old historic title, and the diffusion of it was a fact of Ottoman government long before Abd-ul-Hamid, but his policy gave strength to a natural process in the Empire. The situation, and a certain growing feeling among the people of Asia Minor, caused the process, which seems to have begun through the influence of the centralizing policy initiated by the Sultan Mahmud II about 1830. So far as I can learn, there existed previously little, if any, tendency to real unification of feeling in the country, and therefore unification of name had little vitality. The tie to the Sultan sat very lightly on the many nomad or semi-nomad tribes in the country, while all Christians, Jews, and certain heretic Moslems had no desire, and were not accorded the right, to call themselves by a name appropriated to the Imperial Turks. There did, however, exist a name which gradually established itself as expressive of unity in a Turkish Moslem Empire. This was the name *Osmanli*.

#### X. OSMANLI OR TURK

The national name to which the Turkish people of Asia Minor and South-eastern Europe lay claim is *Osmanli* (or in European fashion, derived from the Byzantine Greek form, *Ottoman*); but this name has now no racial character. It did not come into existence until about two centuries after the conquest of Anatolia had been achieved by the Seldjuk Turks. The *Osmanli* were originally a tribe settled in the mountain district to the south and south-east of the Sea of Marmara, taking their name from their leader *Osman*. They were the people of *Osman*: names of this character are extremely common in Anatolia. The successors of *Osman* rapidly extended their power, overrunning the north-western part of Asia Minor and the south-eastern part of Europe, and ultimately making themselves heirs to the old Seldjuk Sultans of Konia or Roum, and leaders of the entire Empire. At this time the Turkish power was bounded on the south by Mount Taurus, and it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that the *Osmanli* Sultans extended their power south of the Taurus, conquering Cilicia, Syria and Egypt, under Selim II.

The name Osmanli became a sort of Imperial designation. All Moslem subjects who felt loyalty to the Osmanli Sultans called themselves Osmanli. This was an Imperial designation and a basis on which rested a feeling of unity in the Empire. It implied religion and also loyalty to the Ottoman Empire among those who claimed this title, and they prefer it as more honourable than any other.

‘What is Osmanli?’ said the deputy elected for Adrianople to the Turkish Chamber in 1908, when the question was raised in a small social gathering where I was present: ‘They call me Osmanli; my father was Albanian, my mother was Circassian, and I am Osmanli. The name has no ethnological meaning.’ It has, however, true political application and force. It expresses and sums up all that exists in the way of political and social unity and of loyalty to the dynasty, apart from the religious factor. Formerly there was very little of this feeling. It has been growing during the last ninety years or so. The soil in which it struck root and from which it gained sustenance was the centralization of government, a very scanty soil, affording a very poor sustenance. The claim which Abd-ul-Hamid has to rank as a power in history is that he perceived the want of unity in the Empire, and that he attempted in his own way to remedy this evil. His methods were barbarous and also they were inadequate. He had no education and no acquaintance with the facts and possibilities of civilized or humane administration. He attempted to put in force the old Turkish principle of government by massacre, not that I imagine that he was ever fully satisfied with this, but he was not capable of devising anything better. There has never been any way of governing in Turkey, except to let things go on until the administration began to suspect some danger from some element in the population, whereupon this element was reduced to harmlessness by massacre; and this established and hereditary custom has often been employed in argument by speakers and writers in this country as a sufficient justification for the policy of Abd-ul-Hamid. The same old custom is at the present day admitted in practice by the European allies of Turkey, whose only criticism on the past seems to be that the method was never applied with sufficient thoroughness to be permanently effective: instead of merely diminishing the numbers of an element in the population which was believed to be dangerous, that element ought to be eliminated entirely. Of course that is the real and logical expression of the old Turkish method.

There existed indeed an older name of real racial character, viz. Turk, which was in use at all times, from the first entrance of the Seldjuk Turks into Asia Minor. The language which Seldjuk and

Osmanli alike speak is Turk, and when the racial character has to be brought out, the name Turk is necessary ; but in the earlier years of my experience in Asia Minor I was always struck with the fact that it was rather uncourteous and rude to ask a man whether he was Turk or not. The polite expression was to ask whether he was Osmanli. The name Turk carried with it a certain connotation of dullness and slowness of wit, and the expression ' Turk-head ' or ' Turk-person ' was applied by one Osmanli to another, in the sense of ' stupid fellow '.

In the last few years there has been a tendency to give dignity to the name ' Turk ', and to regard the Empire as being typically Turkish rather than Moslem, in other words, to exalt the political aspect of the Empire above the religious aspect ; but this tendency, which forms part of the Young Turk movement, has not made itself effective in altering the thoughts and ideals of the general population in Asiatic Turkey. It remains special to the small governing minority in Turkey, and it is distinct from, and even opposed to, the Pan-Islamic policy of Abd-ul-Hamid. It is, however, a device for attaining the same purpose that Abd-ul-Hamid aimed at, viz. the revivification of the Turkish Empire. The Young Turks tried at first to continue his appeal to Pan-Islamic feeling, but met with small success ; and the appeal to the racial and conquering feeling was substituted. The success of the latter appeal requires that non-Turkish elements like Circassian and Kurd should be willing to merge their racial character in the designation of Osmanli, which they would adopt more readily than that of Turk.

In Turkish official statistics all Moslems are classed together under that single heading, and no account is taken of the diversity of tribe and blood and feeling which we have been describing. Accordingly, even if the official statistics were approximately correct in respect of numbers, there could be no process more misleading than to rely on the official numbers without knowledge of the actual facts regarding race and feeling.

#### XI. NO RACIAL MAP POSSIBLE

There are in Anatolia few well-marked boundaries dividing the country into separate districts of any size except the one great distinction between the central plateau and the coast-lands which are separated from the plateau by a rim of mountains. Of this rim the best-known part is Taurus, which is the southern rim ; but the whole consists of elevated plateaux much broken by water-courses.

Taurus is really a lofty plateau, forty to eighty miles broad. The coast-lands do not offer a continuous roadway, for the mountains



more than once approach so close to the sea as almost entirely to prevent passage along the water. Hence in several cases sea valleys are more closely connected with the plateau than with each other.

On the west the coastline is so broken and long, that this region is like part of the Greek rather than the Asiatic world, and the sea valleys which extend up between the long fingers of mountains belong geographically and racially rather to a Greek than an Asiatic people: even on the north and the south coast Greek colonies were formerly the most important factors in the history of these regions, although the colonists were very much mixed with the native population. In most cases history and geography alike prescribe a difference of character and treatment between the great plateau and the western coast-lands.

To come to the plateau proper, there seems to be no other principle of division possible, either according to physical features or according to religion or according to race, except that modern principle of classification according to the railways which serve the several parts. There are important lines of railway which radiate from Constantinople and rival lines radiating from Smyrna. The centre and junction of the railway systems on the plateau is at Eski-Sheher (the ancient city of Dorylaion), near one of the great battlefields of the First Crusade, and the most important point in the Byzantine military system. This place was a tiny village of two hundred inhabitants when I first saw it in 1883, possessing no importance except that there were hot springs highly prized for their medical value. It now contains about 60,000 inhabitants and important engineering works.

Here great systems of railway diverge, one going along the north edge of the plateau to Angora, and ultimately, in the future, to Sivas, Erzerum and the Caucasus; the other to Tarsus and Adana and Aleppo, forking on the one hand through Palestine to Arabia and ultimately to Egypt, and on the other hand to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf. The spheres of influence on the plateau (if there be more than one), must be limited according to railway connexion. The country between the two railway systems is for the most part perfectly level, and in dry weather one could drive a wagon along almost any line.

Nearly two years ago I stated in a London paper that I would guarantee to take as many automobiles as were required from Constantinople to the southern sea near Tarsus or Adana, the first few in fourteen days and thereafter the rest in ten days. The one serious difficulty was negotiating the steep rise from the Camp of Cyrus in a deep glen of the Taurus mountains at Bozanti to the Cilician

Gates : on this steep ascent there was a fair road, not well adapted for motor-cars, as far as the Egyptian lines (constructed by Ibrahim Pasha in 1832). Since then an excellent route served by motor-cars has been constructed in this section.

The want of geographical limits furnished by nature on the plateau is not so serious as might be feared. I venture to think that, if there are different spheres of influence in Asia Minor in the future, the most important thing will be, not to fence these off from one another by any artificial or natural walls of separation, but to connect them as closely as possible with one another. The true guard and the true strength of each sphere will be through the mutual intercourse and prosperity in which each assists the other. On the other hand, if there should be a state of war, recent events have shown that purely artificial lines of military defence can be constructed without the aid of nature.

It would be impossible to give a map of Asia Minor, exhibiting the diversity of race. A mere wall-map, however large, would be quite insufficient to show this with any completeness. Even the difference of religion would be hard to exhibit on a map, except in a very rough fashion. There are large districts, including most of Central Anatolia, where Mohammedanism is almost universal, but it just misses being universal because there is rarely a town in which there is not a certain non-Moslem population : at least that was the case up to the beginning of the great war. How the Christians have fared in those regions is unknown, but it is certain that many months ago they were starving and in the most deplorable condition, and by this time they have died in large numbers. Moreover, when one indicates a district as Mohammedan, one is neglecting the diversity of sect and taking no notice of the heretical Moslems. In one town of the Euphrates valley, with a population apparently of about four or five thousand, there were in 1890 seventeen different religions, from Sunni Moslems to Protestant and Yezidi (devil-worshippers).

In constructing a map it is necessary to neglect very small elements of the population, unless the map is on a quite gigantic scale. Now in the East the neglect of small elements prevents a correct estimate of the position. It is the case to a far greater extent in Asia than in Europe, that the government of a country depends frequently on the very small elements. We have an instance at the present day in the domination of the Young Turk party. Years ago, when I was still full of hope in the ability and promise of that party, I used to maintain that there were not in the whole of Asia Minor as many as one hundred Young Turks, setting aside those Turks who

were of European origin, though settled in Asia. The entire mass of the native population of Asia Minor was Old Turk. But the Young Turks ruled then and the Young Turks are ruling now. It is the small but energetic and resolute minority which rules in Asia, and to neglect the small elements in a map is to deprive the map of all value as an aid to good administration.

Such a map may be useful in collecting statistics, for the usefulness of statistics depends entirely on the treatment given to them by the statistician, and collections of statistics which omit tiny elements may have a certain claim to be good in theory and yet prove in practice deceptive in the highest degree.

To take one example of the importance of very small elements : in 1880 I was for a month or two brought into contact with an English workman on the railway in charge of the permanent way for a section of about thirty miles. In all the region of valley and mountain which adjoined that piece of railway, he was in many respects the most influential and important person ; and recommendation from him to a nomad tribe encamped in the mountain was much more important to me than a letter from the Governor of the entire province—yet that influence came to him solely in virtue of his natural capacity and his racial character. Every one knew that he was honest, and all people came to him and trusted him to settle differences, to heal divisions and quarrels, and to maintain good feeling. He was a man of little education, except that practical training which is got through skilled work on a railway. He had no future career before him, because he lacked the instruction which is needed for one of the higher positions on the railway, and he was naturally a little undisciplined ; but he possessed the heritage of his race in the natural capacity for understanding and for sympathizing with and for managing a less educated people. We have all been often told that this capacity is what young Englishmen learn at the great schools. I know from this and many other examples that they do not learn it at school, but that it is born in them, and given opportunity it must come out : a good school may train and discipline, but does not make it.

But that most important factor in the administration of a very large district does not appear in a map, however great the scale ; and yet if you omit the one man in your arrangements for the conduct of the district you miss out the most important agent.

Asia is a country which has been governed always by autocrats, and its history has proceeded always through that collective self-righting force which enables the people to eliminate the effete offspring of the



great and able autocrat. European interference in the East always tends to support the existing dynasty, however effete, and thus to destroy the safety factor in Asiatic administration. Whether the theory of divine right of a reigning dynasty has value in European countries generally it is not my purpose to inquire, but that its introduction into South-Eastern Europe and Western Asia has been throughout all modern history a pernicious influence is certain.

## XII. ANTICIPATIONS OF THE FUTURE

While I have disclaimed any intention of referring to political matters and to the present situation, some reflections arise inevitably out of the circumstances as just described. Those who have watched the steady, continuous, unresting and unhasting<sup>1</sup> progress of German influence in Turkey, cannot avoid inferring that the present situation in Europe is largely the outcome of the situation in the East. The influence of Germany had reached such a stage that, in order to continue its extension, closer contact between Germany and Turkey was necessary. That influence began through the reasonable belief of Abd-ul-Hamid that Germany was a safe power to deal with, because it was not in a position to exercise any pressure upon him : inasmuch as by land it was far distant, with alien and hostile races separating it from Turkey, while by sea it could not exercise any serious pressure.<sup>2</sup> But events gradually removed the inconvenient powers that lay between by ranging them on the side of Germany. The Balkan alliance and its war with Turkey in 1912 constituted a serious blow to the German policy, but already in April, 1913,<sup>3</sup> it was seen and privately stated by some of the best-informed authorities in Constantinople that an agreement between Turkey and Bulgaria was being shaped, and that the Balkan alliance was on the point of being broken. In this situation no one can doubt, or has ever doubted,<sup>4</sup> that the moving influence was Austro-German. In the result, there remained no hostile power separating Germany from Turkey except Serbia, and the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 was a step in the

<sup>1</sup> Often I read of the 'feverish haste' of German operations ; but history will use the above adjectives about their operations in Turkey.

<sup>2</sup> The connexion by the Danube, even with Austria and Roumania as allies, was totally inadequate and unsuited for exerting any real pressure on Turkey. Writers who look at the map, but have apparently never gone down the Danube by steamer, lay unjustifiable stress on this route.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps earlier : it was mentioned to me in April as a matter in progress.

<sup>4</sup> It was accepted formerly as true, but recently it became convenient to deny or ignore it.

consolidation of German influence over Turkey : this Serbian impediment had to be removed at all cost, and the time seemed favourable.

No one who was familiar with the growth of German interest in Turkey and the magnitude of the schemes in railways, irrigation, &c., which were being pushed in the country, and the intense and devoted energy which was being applied to push them, could feel any doubt with regard to the real motive of the War. A promenade across France to the Atlantic Ocean by a German army has for many years been regarded by every German from the highest to the lowest as an incident which could at any time be tacked on to greater measures, but which was not in itself worth taking up as a main issue. War with England was regarded as inevitable at some time or other in the near future, but was not an immediate object at that time : it was to be postponed for the moment. War with Russia was not desired for its own sake, but merely accepted with a view to clearing the path towards the Bosphorus and Mesopotamia. This was the step which Germany was driven to take by its immediate interests and ambition, and any settlement which gives to Germany that chief purpose will be recorded by history as a victory in the war, whatever be the price—great or small—that is paid for that victory. Such a settlement would constitute a distinct step forward in the career which has been marked out for her, whether we say that the career has been marked by fate or by her own deliberate and conscious choice, or by both.

Those who think of this South-Eastern problem as specially important are bound to recognize the intense enthusiasm and devotion which Germany applied to the task before her. Every German whom I met in Turkey, with I think one exception, was working consciously and intentionally and with his whole power towards this end, subordinating to it every other consideration ; and I must say that it was a relief often to come in contact with members of the German Embassy, and to converse on the subject of Turkey, because, apart from their actual purposes in the study of Turkey, they were applying such energy and thoroughness to the study, as to make conversation with them stimulating and suggestive in the highest degree ; whereas most Europeans in Constantinople were so uninterested in big general questions about the development of Turkey that one learned little from them. Only in two or three cases was any constructive imagination shown in the views that were expressed by English people in Constantinople or at home in discussing the future of that country, but constructive imagination is the foundation of statesmanship. I could not but contrast the history of Cyprus under British

administration since 1878 with the German policy in Anatolia. In the one case about twenty years elapsed before any step was taken, however small, in facilitating the development of the resources of the country, and in the following years the steps which were taken were extremely small and most penuriously economical. Yet this was a work which demanded much expenditure at the moment, if anything were to be gained. The results promised to be in the long run extremely important, but undoubtedly they were costly. Or again, take the scantiness of British enterprises for the development of Asia Minor in the sixty years which followed the Crimean War, when British influence was sometimes strong and always considerable. It was either wasted or misapplied, and private mercantile interests were left to do what they could in their own interest, without any plan for the improvement of the country.

On the other hand, in the score of years which followed the time when Great Britain threw into the hands of Germany the English railway from the Bosphorus leading towards the East or South-East, great economic projects were formed upon a wide view of improvement in land cultivation and in communication, and were worked out with remarkable vigour and much immediate expenditure of money. It is absolutely necessary to recognize the importance and the bearing of facts like these upon the situation in Turkey. I have known cases where Turks in influential positions, who fully recognized the ultimate selfishness of German ends, and cherished a strong dislike for Germans as neighbours or as associates, were forced to confess that they must join in those great German schemes of improving the country, because on no other side could they find any help for them, or any interest in them. A Turkish Pasha, a man of very high influence and Governor of one of the great provinces of the Empire, was thinking very seriously about sending his second son to be educated in England. I discussed this matter with him, and so did other friends of mine. He was brought to Constantinople to act as Grand Vizier, and he changed his mind with regard to the upbringing of his son, because, as he said, he found that all the officials at the German Embassy and Consulate were working hard from morning till night on large schemes, whereas all British officials with whom he was brought in contact seemed to have no time to spare for any work in regard to Turkey, while they had infinite leisure to spend in all sorts of amusements of a more or less athletic character, from lawn tennis to shooting excursions, and he had come to the conclusion that he wanted his son to be brought up to work like a German rather than to play like an Englishman.



The effect of recent events has been to strengthen the unity of the country. This unity always rested on the Turk or Osmanli section of the whole population, which constituted a large majority, and in the central regions of Anatolia an absolutely overwhelming majority. In Anatolia, therefore, lay always the centre and the strength of Turkey.

In respect of that great line of division between Moslems and Christians in Asiatic Turkey the diversity is dying out and unification is rapidly being achieved through the simple process of starvation, combined, in some cases, with massacre. Alike in Anatolia and in Syria the same accounts are given that the Christians are dying of famine in thousands, while in Armenia widespread massacre was followed by starvation.

Besides this there has been a weakening of the old dislike that separated section from section of the Anatolian Moslems, and a gradual increase in the fellow-feeling of the whole body. This was not due to the popularity of the Young Turk rule, which never in Anatolia excited any feeling of sympathy or approval. Still, the recent revival of pride in the name Turk, and possibly some other causes unknown to the writer, which have come into play since he last saw the country in the end of June 1914, seem to have been exercising an appreciable influence. Then further, the common warfare against a foreign foe and the comradeship in the army have been a distinctly unifying force. Unfortunately the attacks on Turkey have been made almost entirely from the outside, and not at the internal points of cleavage; and these attacks, which on the whole have been resisted with fair success, have acted like blows from a hammer on a mass of metal, steadily welding it into a single piece. Again, the fact that in several cases the Turks were carrying the war beyond their own bounds and attacking the enemy in his own country, produced a feeling of success, which has helped to counter-balance the considerable losses sustained on the north-east, and the slighter losses on the south-east.

It cannot be doubted that recent policy in Turkey has been largely guided from Berlin. German methods, while outraging the feelings of high-spirited races, are admirably suited to dominate submissive and obedient peoples like the Turks, and to over-awe faint-hearted and cowardly individuals in any country. The impression that the traveller gets in Turkey is that the Germans, though intensely disliked after a little experience, are even more dreaded than hated. The moral character of the methods employed in forcing on this unification do not concern us here; but the knowledge and intellectual

skill displayed constitute a lesson in efficiency. The evidence, though not sufficient to disclose fully the methods and the causes, is sufficient to prove that unification has been proceeding with quite unexpected celerity.

One thing, however, is certain. The foundations were laid for this process of unification by Abd-ul-Hamid, and the Government which succeeded him has been building on these foundations under German guidance. Training in modern method at school is followed by training in military method on a vast scale; and a robber state of purely autocratic organization is being created, similar to that of the Mongols under Genghiz Khan and Tamerlane. The method of this creation is interesting.

Now there will soon be given us a new chance to regulate and improve the motley population of Anatolia. Will it be done with knowledge by people who know the conditions or even wish to know them, or will it be done in the old fashion by diplomatists who occupy far too lofty a position to condescend to know anything about the needs and character of the people whose fate they are to dispose? I used to sketch out the possibilities of government by a Commission of scientific men and historians trained in modern methods of history, and I even had appointed in imagination a Chairman for the Commission—though unfortunately this Chairman was a German, the one German I know who struck me as being politically sane. It was my lot to meet a number of Germans, scholars and men of affairs especially interested in the same lines as myself, and I admired their intense interest in the country and the zealous work which they were applying to the task of understanding it. Just because they were often the people who knew facts, I resorted to their company wherever it was possible, and found it stimulating, interesting, and instructive. Besides them I found most to learn from English business men, whose life was cast in Turkey, and whose fortunes depended on their knowledge.

The Germans were playing for a great stake. There never has been such a game in the history of the world, and there never has been so gigantic a stake to play for. But they did not play the game, and they cannot succeed until they learn to play according to the rules. One must, however, honestly give them credit for untiring work, unrelaxing vigilance, infinite interest in every department of the subject, and perfect readiness to discuss it from all sides in an obviously scientific spirit.

The Young Turk reform movement began with very different ideals from Abd-ul-Hamid's, and was characterized at first by devoted

and almost fanatical admiration for the free institutions of Western Europe. The devotion was a little exaggerated, and therefore was liable to issue in a reaction.<sup>1</sup> It is a matter of history that the German allies of Abd-ul-Hamid step by step succeeded, through the indifference and errors of the free western nations, in attracting a certain number of the leaders of the new movement, and driving into exile, or bringing about the assassination of others, and finally establishing their control of the forces of so-called reform. The way in which this came about lies apart from the subject of this paper, but the result was, as has already been said, to substitute for Abd-ul-Hamid's pan-islamic and religious, a national and Turkish movement towards the same goal.

The control of the education and the drilling of Turkey is now entirely in German hands. It is well known that a distinguished scholar, whose reputation was considerable among the small number who are interested in the Ethiopic language, has been for some time at the head of the educational side of the new influence in Constantinople, and some very bold measures which have been adopted may possibly be ascribed to his organizing skill and knowledge.

The Turkish army, properly drilled and officered by educated people, is, and has always been, capable of being made into a formidable weapon.

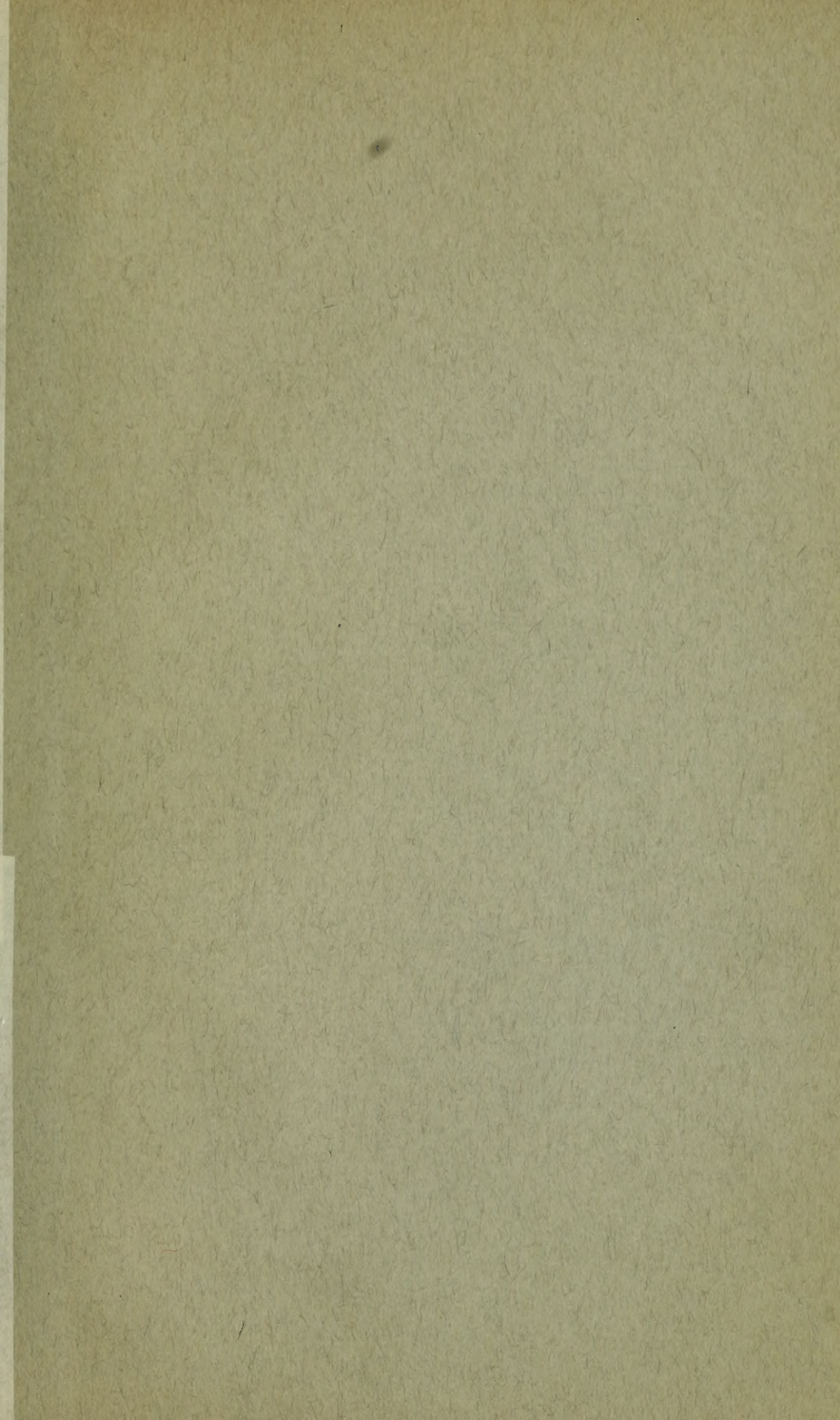
The Turkish State is being rapidly transformed into a great military weapon of the same kind as it was in the beginning, but much more dangerous through the possession of western training and western engines of destruction. It began as a community among whom all the males were soldiers from infancy. It is now again approximating steadily towards the same form. No man is wanted who is not fit to fight. Christians and weakly Moslems are equally undesirable and have the same fate.

Since there are no industries in Turkey except those which are controlled by Christians, and in which Moslems play only the part of porters and watchmen, no deduction from the total numbers of male Turks is required for this department. Since all the agricultural operations have been conducted (even in times of peace) by women,

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Whittall, an excellent observer, wrote to me in 1908 from Constantinople that this reaction must come, because 'the Turks expect too much from England, and are sure to be disappointed', and also because 'they have no conception of the difficulties of the task before them, and think that they can take their place immediately beside the great nations of Europe'. After being hopeful of Young Turk success for eight months he wrote early in 1909 that he had lost all hope of their success.



little deduction is required from the total numbers for the cultivation of the soil. Since there are practically no physicians, all the males who grow up are available for military service, because the weak die off in childhood; thus the ideal of Tamerlane, or Genghiz Khan, is to be reached in a nation of warrior men supported by the work of the women.





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